





## CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Letter to the queen of England, from the high imperial commissioner Lin, and his colleagues. From the Canton Press.*

LIN, high imperial commissioner, a president of the Board of War, viceroy of the two Keäng provinces, &c., T'äng, a president of the Board of War, viceroy of the two Kwang provinces, &c., and E, a vice-president of the Board of War, lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, &c., hereby conjointly address this public dispatch to the queen of England for the purpose of giving her clear and distinct information (on the state of affairs) &c.

It is only our high and mighty emperor, who alike supports and cherishes those of the Inner Land, and those from beyond the seas—who looks upon all mankind with equal benevolence—who, if a source of profit exists anywhere, diffuses it over the whole world—who, if the tree of evil takes root anywhere, plucks it up for the benefit of all nations:—who, in a word, hath implanted in his breast that heart (by which beneficent nature herself) governs the heavens and the earth! You, the queen of your honorable nation, sit upon a throne occupied through successive generations by predecessors, all of whom have been styled respectful and obedient. Looking over the public documents accompanying the tribute sent (by your predecessors) on various occasions, we find the following:—"All the people of my (i. e. the king of England's) country, arriving at the Central Land for purposes of trade, have to feel grateful to the great emperor for the most perfect justice, for the kindest treatment," and other words to that effect. Delighted did we feel that the kings of

your honorable nation so clearly understood the great principles of propriety, and were so deeply grateful for the heavenly goodness (of our emperor):—therefore, it was that we of the heavenly dynasty nourished and cherished your people from afar, and bestowed upon them redoubled proofs of our urbanity and kindness. It is merely from these circumstances, that your country—deriving immense advantage from its commercial intercourse with us, which has endured now two hundred years—has become the rich and flourishing kingdom that it is said to be!

But, during the commercial intercourse which has existed so long, among the numerous foreign merchants resorting hither, are wheat and tares, good and bad; and of these latter are some, who, by means of introducing opium by stealth, have seduced our Chinese people, and caused every province of the land to overflow with that poison. These then know merely to advantage themselves, they care not about injuring others! This is a principle which heaven's Providence repugnates; and which mankind conjointly look upon with abhorrence! Moreover, the great emperor hearing of it, actually quivered with indignation, and especially dispatched me, the commissioner, to Canton, that in conjunction with the viceroy and lieutenant-governor of the province, means might be taken for its suppression!

Every native of the Inner Land who sells opium, as also all who smoke it, are alike adjudged to death. Were we then to go back and take up the crimes of the foreigners, who, by selling it for many years have induced dreadful calamity and robbed us of enormous wealth, and punish them with equal severity, our laws could not but award to them absolute annihilation! But, considering that these said foreigners did yet repent of their crime, and with a sincere heart beg for mercy; that they took 20,233 chests of opium piled up in their store-ships, and through Elliot, the superintendent of the trade of your said country, petitioned that they might be delivered up to us, when the same were all utterly destroyed, of which we, the imperial commissioner and colleagues, made a duly prepared memorial to his majesty;—considering these circumstances, we have happily received a fresh proof of the extraordinary goodness of the great emperor, inasmuch as he who voluntarily comes forward, may yet be deemed a fit subject for mercy, and his crimes be graciously remitted him. But as for him who again knowingly violates the laws, difficult indeed will it be thus to go on repeatedly pardoning! He or they shall alike be doomed to the penalties of the new statute. We presume that you, the sovereign of your honorable nation, on pouring out your

heart before the altar of eternal justice, cannot but command all foreigners with the deepest respect to reverence our laws! If we only lay clearly before your eyes, what is profitable and what is destructive, you will then know that the statutes of the heavenly dynasty cannot but be obeyed with fear and trembling!

We find that your country is distant from us about sixty or seventy thousand miles,\* that your foreign ships come hither striving the one with the other for our trade, and for the simple reason of their strong desire to reap a profit. Now, out of the wealth of our Inner Land, if we take a part to bestow upon foreigners from afar, it follows, that the immense wealth which the said foreigners amass, ought properly speaking to be portion of our own native Chinese people. By what principle of reason then, should these foreigners send in return a poisonous drug, which involves in destruction those very natives of China? Without meaning to say that the foreigners harbor such destructive intentions in their hearts, we yet positively assert that from their inordinate thirst after gain, they are perfectly careless about the injuries they inflict upon us! And such being the case, we should like to ask what has become of that conscience which heaven has implanted in the breasts of all men?

We have heard that in your own country opium is prohibited with the utmost strictness and severity:—this is a strong proof that you know full well now hurtful it is to mankind. Since then you do not permit it to injure your own country, you ought not to have the injurious drug transferred to another country, and above all others, how much less to the Inner Land! Of the products which China exports to your foreign countries, there is not one which is not beneficial to mankind in some shape or other. There are those which serve for food, those which are useful, and those which are calculated for re-sale;—but all are beneficial. Has China (we should like to ask) ever yet sent forth a noxious article from its soil? Not to speak of our tea and rhubarb, things which your foreign countries could not exist a single day without, if we of the Central Land were to grudge you what is beneficial, and not to compassionate your wants, then wherewithal could you foreigners manage to exist? And further, as regards your woollens, camlets, and longells, were it not that you get supplied with our native raw silk, you could not get these manufactured! If China were to grudge you those things which yield a profit, how could you foreigners scheme after any profit at all? Our other articles of food, such as sugar, ginger, cinnamon, &c.,

\* That is, Chinese miles — from 20 to 23,000 British statute miles.

and our other articles for use, such as silk piece-goods, chinaware, &c., are all so many necessaries of life to you; how can we reckon up their number! On the other hand, the things that come from your foreign countries are only calculated to make presents of, or serve for mere amusement. It is quite the same to us if we have them, or if we have them not. If then these are of no material consequence to us of the Inner Land, what difficulty would there be in prohibiting and shutting our market against them? It is only that our heavenly dynasty most freely permits you to take off her tea, silk, and other commodities, and convey them for consumption everywhere, without the slightest stint or grudge, for no other reason, but that where a profit exists, we wish that it be diffused abroad for the benefit of all the earth!

Your honorable nation takes away the products of our central land, and not only do you thereby obtain food and support for yourselves, but moreover, by re-selling these products to other countries you reap a threefold profit. Now if you would only not sell opium, this threefold profit would be secured to you: how can you possibly consent to forego it for a drug that is hurtful to men, and an unbridled craving after gain that seems to know no bounds! Let us suppose that foreigners came from another country, and brought opium into England, and seduced the people of your country to smoke it, would not you, the sovereign of the said country, look upon such a procedure with anger, and in your just indignation endeavor to get rid of it? Now we have always heard that your highness possesses a most kind and benevolent heart, surely then you are incapable of doing or causing to be done unto another, that which you should not wish another to do unto you! We have at the same time heard that your ships which come to Canton do each and every of them carry a document granted by your highness' self, on which are written these words "you shall not be permitted to carry contraband goods;" (the ship's register?) this shows that the laws of your highness are in their origin both distinct and severe, and we can only suppose that because the ships coming here have been very numerous, due attention has not been given to search and examine; and for this reason it is that we now address you this public document, that you may clearly know how stern and severe are the laws of the central dynasty, and most certainly you will cause that they be not again rashly violated!

Moreover, we have heard that in London the metropolis where you dwell, as also in Scotland, Ireland, and other such places, no opium

whatever is produced. It is only in sundry parts of your colonial kingdom of Hindostan, such as Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Patna, Malwa, Benares, Malacca,\* and other places where the very hills are covered with the opium plant, where tanks are made for the preparing of the drug; month by month, and year by year, the volume of the poison increases, its unclean stench ascends upwards, until heaven itself grows angry, and the very gods thereat get indignant! You, the queen of the said honorable nation, ought immediately to have the plant in those parts plucked up by the very root! Cause the land there to be hoed up afresh, sow in its stead the five grains, and if any man dare again to plant in these grounds a single poppy, visit his crime with the most severe punishment. By a truly benevolent system of government such as this, will you indeed reap advantage, and do away with a source of evil. Heaven must support you, and the gods will crown you with felicity! This will get for yourself the blessing of long life, and from this will proceed the security and stability of your descendants!

In reference to the foreign merchants who come to this our central land, the food that they eat, and the dwellings that they abide in, proceed entirely from the goodness of our heavenly dynasty:—the profits which they reap, and the fortunes which they amass, have their origin only in that portion of benefit which our heavenly dynasty kindly allots them: and as these pass but little of their time in your country, and the greater part of their time in our's, it is a generally received maxim of old and of modern times, that we should conjointly admonish, and clearly make known the punishment that awaits them.

Suppose the subject of another country were to come to England to trade, he would certainly be required to comply with the laws of England, then how much more does this apply to us of the celestial empire! Now it is a fixed statute of this empire, that any native Chinese who sells opium is punishable with death, and even he who merely smokes it, must not less die. Pause and reflect for a moment: if you foreigners did not bring the opium hither, where should our Chinese people get it to re-sell? It is you foreigners who involve our simple natives in the pit of death, and are they alone to be permitted to escape alive? If so much as one of those deprive one of our people of his life, he must forfeit his life in requital for that which he has taken:—how much more does this apply to him who by means of opium destroys his fellow-men? Does the havoc which he

\* We have been obliged to guess at the names of some of these places.

commits stop with a single life? Therefore it is that those foreigners who now import opium into the Central Land are condemned to be beheaded and strangled by the new statute, and this explains what we said at the beginning about plucking up the tree of evil, wherever it takes root, for the benefit of all nations.

We further find that during the second month of this present year (i. e. 9th April, 1839), the superintendent of your honorable country, Elliot, viewing the law in relation to the prohibiting of opium as excessively severe, duly petitioned us, begging for "an extension of the term already limited, say five months for Hindostan and the different parts of India, and ten for England, after which they would obey and act in conformity with the new statute," and other words to the same effect. Now we, the high commissioner and colleagues, upon making a duly prepared memorial to the great emperor, have to feel grateful for his extraordinary goodness, for his redoubled compassion. Any one who within the next year and a half may by mistake bring opium to this country, if he will but voluntarily come forward, and deliver up the entire quantity, he shall be absolved from all punishment for his crime. If, however, the appointed term shall have expired, and there are still persons who continue to bring it, then such shall be accounted as knowingly violating the laws, and shall most assuredly be put to death! On no account shall we show mercy or clemency! This then may be called truly the extreme of benevolence, and the very perfection of justice!

Our celestial empire rules over ten thousand kingdoms! Most surely do we possess a measure of godlike majesty which ye cannot fathom! Still we cannot bear to slay or exterminate without previous warning, and it is for this reason that we now clearly make known to you the fixed laws of our land. If the foreign merchants of your said honorable nation desire to continue their commercial intercourse, they then must tremblingly obey our recorded statutes, they must cut off for ever the source from which the opium flows, and on no account make an experiment of our laws in their own persons! Let then your highness punish those of your subjects who may be criminal, do not endeavor to screen or conceal them, and thus you will secure peace and quietness to your possessions, thus will you more than ever display a proper sense of respect and obedience, and thus may we unitedly enjoy the common blessings of peace and happiness. What greater joy! What more complete felicity than this!

Let your highness immediately, upon the receipt of this communication, inform us promptly of the state of matters, and of the measure



you are pursuing utterly to put a stop to the opium evil. Please let your reply be speedy. Do not on any account make excuses or procrastinate. A most important communication.

P. S. We annex an abstract of the new law, now about to be put in force. "Any foreigner or foreigners bringing opium to the Central Land, with design to sell the same, the principals shall most assuredly be decapitated, and the accessories strangled;—and all property (found on board the same ship) shall be confiscated. The space of a year and a half is granted, within the which, if any one bringing opium by mistake, shall voluntarily step forward and deliver it up, he shall be absolved from all consequences of his crime."

This said imperial edict was received on the 9th day of the 6th month of the 19th year of 'Taoukwang, (19th July, 1839), at which the period of grace begins, and runs on to the 9th day of the 12th month of the 20th year of 'Taoukwang (15th January, 1841), when it is completed.

ART. II. *Memorial, proposing to appoint an intendant of circuit to reside at Macao.*

POSTSCRIPT to a memorial, from the commissioner, governor, and lieutenant-governor.

Again, your majesty's servants have humbly perused your high commands here following: "Lin has been put into the government of the Leäng Keäng. 'Though just now intrusted with the special care of this matter, yet how can he remain constantly in Kwangtung? And Täng has the general control of the public business of two provinces—business not small and uncomplicated: and he must not in attention to one thing neglect the rest; but still must care for and retain in due order the whole field of action, preserving all sound and sure; so that, hereafter, when the roots of evil are wholly cleared away, he may be able to speak of eternal rest of the fruit of one effort of labor. Respect this."

Perusing these commands, we look up and behold our imperial sovereign's intelligent conduct of the machinery of affairs, and his high desire of stooping to give effect to his servants' labors. We have, at present, left the Bocca Tigris and returned to the provincial ca-

pital,—having, in obedience to the pleasure of your majesty, cut off the commercial intercourse of the English foreigners,—and purposing here to take further measures for setting at rest all these 'affairs.

The reflection occurs to us, that mere laws cannot operate of themselves; and that, taking measures—such as may be suitable for forming vessels and instruments of use,—it is our duty to select the more valuable, that we may have the means of ruling men aright.

We find, that, on the foreign merchants of every nation coming to Kwangtung to trade, the vessels with their merchandise all pass inwards to Whampoa, while of the merchants and their assistants, who have charge thereof, many procure residences at Macao. To learn the condition of the hong, and to settle their accounts, this indeed affords opportunity. But it also affords opportunity to stand out for exorbitant profits, and to put in operation crafty schemes.—Thus Macao is in fact a general place of concourse: and sly craft and cunning abounding, traitorous Chinese herd there together, seducing and enticing, and stopping short at nothing.

As regards the Portuguese foreigners, though declaring themselves respectfully obedient, yet they neither plough nor spin, but diligently pursuing schemes of improper gain, they abound in ever varying tricks. And now that we have stopped the trade of the English, it is more than ever difficult to insure that they will not clandestinely intrigue with them, receiving from them commissions to convey and dispose of merchandise for them. An opening for such crafts and illegalities being once formed, the leak will remain unstopped as of old. It is therefore of bounden necessity to search therefor, and to take careful preventive measures.

We find, that, in the 8th year of Yungching (1730), an assistant was appointed to the magistrate of the district Heängshan, to reside at the village of Mongha, within Macao. And that in the 8th year of Keënlung (1743), there was further appointed for Macao, a joint prefect, who shall reside in the encampment of Tseënsan, about 15 *le* (5 or 6 miles) distant from Macao; and whose special function should be the administration of foreign affairs. In their origin, these measures were abundantly sufficient in extent and in precision. But of late days, the varied crafts and deceits of the foreigners have so numerously broken out, that the affairs of Macao have become increasingly important. And at the time of utterly extirpating the evils so abounding, it is of the first importance to have men able to check and rein them in. It is requisite that there should be a somewhat higher officer, else the means will not be adequate to dry up the

source of the evils; or to hold under restraint the proud and the unbridled.

Our investigations have pointed out to us the newly appointed intendent (taoutae) of the circuit of Kaou-Leën, by name Yih Chungfoo, as a man of well-regulated mind, and under self-control, able to bear toil and trouble, bold and courageous in the transaction of affairs, and who has gained for himself a name to be feared. He has now surrendered the seals of office of the prefecture of Chaouchow, preparatory to repairing to his new office over the Kaou-Leën circuit. We, your majesty's servants, have with one consent resolved to depute the said taoutae to reside for a time at Macao, and, with the joint-prefect and assistant magistrate under his direction, to observe and regulate all the foreign affairs; to keep careful watch over the licensed Macao vessels, and put a stop to any transactions under false names on behalf of the English; and to search after and apprehend any traitorous Chinese who may furnish them with supplies: in all these things to lay upon the said officer the responsibility of acting, always in accordance with precedent.

The affairs of the government of the Kaou-Leën circuit — his present office — are comparatively simple, and may all be managed by dispatches sent to and from Macao: except only the autumnal trials of the two prefectures of Kaouchow and Leëncchow, which having hitherto been subjected to the personal observation of the intendant of that circuit, he may, on the approach of the period, repair to his circuit, requiring not more than a month or so ere the business will be completed.

As to his abode at Macao, there has long been a traveling office of the superintendent of maritime customs, which remaining unoccupied, may be borrowed as a residence for the said officer, during his stay at Macao for the transaction of the public affairs.

But Macao being a place occupied by the Chinese and foreigners intermingled, it is of importance, while administering the government with goodness, to make also an imposing appearance. In small matters, the civil power inflicts punishment: in larger affairs, the military must be called into action. This is indeed often required. Having then charged him with authority in affairs, we should give to him also a military guard. In the encampment of Tseënschan, there is stationed a body of 363 men, under command of a naval toosze (commander), belonging to the river force, and hitherto under the authority of the commodore on the Heängshan station. It behoves us to request that this body may be placed under the direction of the

said taoutae, that whenever the urgency of affairs may require, he may send them wherever they may be needed. And the circuit of Kaou-Leën being actually one to the intendant of which military powers are accorded, this arrangement will be quite consistent with the established forms.

After he shall have discharged the duty of putting affairs in order for one or two years, if it shall be found that all the foreigners conform themselves to our rule, and that opium is thoroughly purged away, the said taoutae can then be recalled within his own circuit, to give more close attention to the duties of his office.

These—the obscure views of your majesty's servants, are humbly submitted—the lieutenant-governor, Eleäng, uniting in this supplementary memorial—with the intreaty that their correctness or otherwise may be determined, by the casting thereon of a sacred glance. A respectful memorial.

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ART. III. *Abuse of opium: opinions on the subject given by one long resident in China, W. Howitt, Mr. Bruce, and the Calcutta Courier, Mr. Davis, and sir Stamford Raffles.*

WHEN we plead for the extinction of the traffic in opium, it is chiefly because of the injurious effects that are known to result from the *abuse* of that drug. It may be that we know not one hundredth part of the evils which it produces; yet enough is known to make it plain to every reflecting mind, that, even if no laws existed rendering it contraband, the traffic ought to cease. Good and honorable men have been engaged in this business: and such, it may be, are still concerned with it. The honorable the E. I. Company has been declared, "*the father of all smuggling and smugglers.*" But it is supposed by many, and some of them very competent judges, that the Indian monopoly will ere long be given up, and the traffic on the coast of China will 'fall into the hands of the reckless, the refuse, and probably the convicted, of all the countries in our neighborhood.' On the 23d of December, 1838, the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China said, in an address to the governor of Canton; "Deliberating on those serious risks to which the lives and properties of many innocent men, both native and foreigners, are

presently exposed, he considers that it is his duty to lay his thoughts before your excellency. Seeking for the immediate source of this dangerous state of things, he finds it in the existence of an extensive opium traffic, conducted in small craft within the river. From one condition of undisturbed lawlessness to another and still more hazardous, the course is sure and rapid. Illegalities will be committed more and more frequently, the difficulty of distinguishing between the right and the wrong will daily become more difficult; the foreign interests and character will suffer increasing injury, violent affrays will be of frequent occurrence; life, and probably the lives of innocent men, will be sacrificed, some general catastrophe will ensue, and there will be employment, profit, and impunity, for none but the reckless and the culpable. The government of the British nation will regard these evil practices with no feelings of leniency, but, on the contrary, with severity and continual anxiety."

This, though said of the traffic within the Bogue, was and is equally applicable to it on the coast, and the lapse of thirteen months has shown the correctness of the judgment given above. The smuggling of any article, under any circumstances, is to be deprecated. If it be sin to rob our neighbor, is it not equally wrong to defraud the government? For ourselves, we have no doubt that good men will soon free themselves from this traffic, not only because it is contraband, but especially because opium is misused to the great injury of multitudes of our fellow-men. The *chief* merits of this question do not turn on the mere legality or illegality of the drug, considered simply in a commercial point of view. The subject should be considered in all its bearings. The use of opium, and the traffic in it, should be contemplated in all their consequences, as they are known to affect health, morals, &c., and then the inquirer should decide whether or not opium is beneficial to the Chinese, or injurious to them, and whether it is right to engage in this traffic or to abandon it.

Regarding the extent to which the drug is used in China, the statistics kindly furnished us by capt. Gover (now deceased, but many years engaged in the traffic), are the most complete of any we have yet seen. They may be found on page 303 of volume VI. The number of smokers, at three candareens per day, as estimated by captain Gover, was 2,039,998 — consuming 21,677 chests, valued at \$19,769,111; this was given as the average of three years, ending on the 31st of March, 1835.

In a controversy on this point, — conducted by two of our readers, with much good humor, and no small care, they being next-door

neighbors to each other, one extensively engaged in the traffic, and the other strongly opposed to it—the following particulars were elicited, abridged from volume V. page 565.

One Reader stated, that, for the year ending March 1837, there were 33,200,000 taels weight of the smokable extract prepared from the opium imported, and that a tael each per day for 300,000,000 people would give 912,000 smokers. Another Reader, instead of a *tael* took a *mace*, (nearly 57.984 grains Troy,) which is, as the Chinese say, and as one would think, a good allowance. This made 9,120,000 smokers of the Indian and Turkey drug. To this he added one fourth, for opium grown in the country, and that brought overland, which gave a total of 11,400,000. Besides, this consumption is but of the first smoking; yet the drug is not thus destroyed, it being sometimes used *twice* or *thrice* over, each time losing in flavor though not much in strength. Each *rifacimento* is cheaper than the former one, till the worst, mixed with tobacco, or jaggary, or some other substance, is placed in the reach of the very poorest people. This will permit a great extension of the number of consumers, say a total of 12½ millions. Of the 300,000,000 people in the empire, according to the known laws of population, about one half are females. Of the 150 millions of men, he assumed that three fifths are under 20 or over 60 years of age, which leaves sixty millions, among whom are the consumers of the 33,200,000 taels of smokable extract. We shall thus find, said he, *one in every five of men* in the prime of life, or verging to old age, *an habitual opium smoker!*

This extensive and indiscriminate use of opium is its abuse; for there is no doubt that the quantity, named by a Reader, has been consumed; and we believe it quite true that few smoke beyond the age of sixty, since the habitual opium smoker dies before he reaches that period. The number of those who commence before they are twenty is not very large; but there are instances of youth and young men, at fourteen and sixteen, who have been habitual smokers. The fair sex, too, are by no means free from this “vile habit.” Opium *may* be used for useful medicinal purposes; and so it often is, under the direction of skillful physicians; but so, we believe, it is very seldom employed among the Chinese; as far as we know, it is chiefly used by them for the purposes of suicide and mere pleasure: to effect the first, it is eaten; to effect the second, it is smoked.

The first person we ever saw smoking opium was ———, partner in the ——— long, now bankrupt for some millions of taels, chiefly due to foreigners. He was then (seven years ago) in the prime of life, prosperous in business, of good reputation, and surrounded with the best means he could command for making himself happy. It was a late hour of night, in winter, at a fashionable dinner, after the very numerous and rich courses usual on such occasions had

been handed up, and the dessert dishes began to thicken on the table, when the man said, with a very singular look, and which left no doubt of the sincerity of the invitation, "you kum long my litty teem, eh?" "Hai lo!" was the reply; and away we went, down stairs, and round about through a long dark path till we came to *the* place. A key, which he carried on his own person, opened the door; we entered, followed by two attendants; and the door was again locked. By a lamp, brought in a dark lantern, the room was soon well lighted. Having had no intimation of what was coming, we began with no small degree of wonder and curiosity to survey the locality, and its several appurtenances, while our host immediately began his preparations. We may here remark, *en passant*, that Mr. Davis' picture, or the one in his book, differs from anything we ever saw in China: it represents a "mandarin" smoking opium, sitting erect and in his full robes. Our accomplished friend understood the matter better. Having thrown off his cap and disrobed, manifesting a considerable degree of impatience, he laid himself down upon a couch on one side of the room, and invited his guest to occupy another on the opposite side. The room was small, not more than twelve feet square, without windows, and sealed close all around and above. The couches were very broad and placed close against the wainscot on two sides of the room; between them, on the third side, stood a small low table, upon which the apparatus for smoking was spread out, not wholly unlike a small tea service. A little porcelain cup contained the delectable matter, nearly of the consistency and color of tar. There were also on the table a small glass lamp and a silver capped pipe, with a few other articles, as brushes, needles, &c., for cleansing and trimming the pipe. In length and shape, this is like an accountant's round ruler; and near one end of it there is a bowl, about the size of a small thimble. Scarcely a minute elapsed, after entering the room, before the smoking was begun. One end of a small rod was dipped into the opium, and a small quantity taken up, and, after being held for a moment near the blaze of the lamp, was crowded into the bowl of the pipe. The man now laid his head on a pillow, put the pipe in his mouth, and, lifting the bowl to the blaze of the lamp, commenced inhaling; this was continued for a few seconds, then the pipe was taken from the mouth to be refilled, and the fumes leisurely puffed from the mouth. The process was repeated some fifteen times, each more and more leisurely, the whole occupying perhaps half an hour. Before the scene ended, the room was full of smoke, and our host had become exceedingly loquacious, uttering all manner of things that

came into his head. On making our exit, the same key as before opened and closed the door, and we returned to our friends in the dining-hall. Some persons suspected he was a smoker of the drug; but the fact was not generally known. About *half a mace* was the quantity taken per day at this time. Afterwards the quantity probably increased. Be this as it may, his regularity in business did not long continue, his reputation began to wane, and bankruptcy soon followed. Whether the smoking of opium contributed to this issue or not, we leave our readers to judge.

In all the cases, of which we have been eyewitness, the process and the attitude of the smoker were the same as in the one here given. The quantity and the quality of the drug have differed. In respectable hotels, where we have seen the pipe, the room has always been in some retired quarter of the house, and so constructed as to escape notice of those not privy to it. In the factories of the merchants who bring teas from Fuhkeën and the more northern provinces, we have seen much less secrecy. So in the residence of the Siamese ambassadors. In boats, belonging to officers of government, we have seen the opium pipe used as freely as that for tobacco. The last instance of this kind was in one of the boats which came with the literary examiner, who was from Peking. The boats remained opposite the factories, and close to the shore for two days; and in one of them we repeatedly saw the forbidden article freely used. In the spring and summer of 1838, the smokers were more bold than we ever before saw them in Canton. In the suburbs of the city, some sixty or eighty rods west of the foreign factories, there is a long street, which runs north and south, opening on the river; it is but little frequented, and the houses on both sides of it are small and poor. Several of these were occupied as opium shops; and there we have repeatedly seen, when passing along in the street, both the processes of preparing and smoking the drug. To these shops many of the poor people, who are employed as boatmen, resorted. Men of this description, receiving only four or five dollars a month, have declared to us that they were spending one third of their wages for opium, and that too when a family was depending on them for support. One young man, we remember in particular, who said he had repeatedly resolved, at the entreaties of his friends, to break off the habit; but to do this, he added, was impossible, and he would allow his friends to suffer, or even die himself, rather than go without his pipe! In temples also, among the votaries of Budha, we have seen smokers of the drug. Native doctors sometimes prescribe it in certain diseases as



a remedy, and the poor patient, confiding in the advice of his physicians, becomes so enslaved by this habit, that what was at first employed as a remedy, becomes at last itself the greatest disease. Finally, after all we have both seen and heard, we are inclined to give full credit to the accounts of those Chinese, who represent the habit as prevailing among *all classes* of the people.

As to the effects of using opium, we will cite here what has been written by some, whose testimony seems worthy of most careful consideration. Our first extract is from a letter, addressed to J. H. Palmer, esquire, signed by *One long resident in China*, dated London, August 10th, 1839. He says :

“ But, say the anti-opium party, that traffic is pre-eminently sinful, and all who aid in it are involved in the sin, as are all who use or abuse the drug. I do not intend to advocate the use of this or any other stimulant ; nevertheless, scarcely a nation exists which has not one or more commonly taken by its people to exhilarate or inebriate, as their desires may prompt. Ardent spirits of various sorts in Europe and America ; crude opium in Turkey, India, and amongst the Malays ; bang (a preparation of hemp-blossoms) in parts of India ; in most countries, tobacco, wines, &c., are used, to the injury, often, of the health and morals of millions. It would be a blessing, indeed, could all men be induced to forego such indulgences ; but since that is not to be effected, I boldly assert, from the experience I have had of Chinese habits, that I prefer, as a national vice, the use of opium, prepared in the mode prevalent in China, to the use of any ardent spirit, and a happy thing would it have been, [!] since stimulants we must have, had the British people adopted the opium in lieu of gin, whiskey, &c. The *abuse of either*, no doubt, *leads to disease and death*, but a moderate use is quite compatible with the enjoyment of health and long life. The European spirit-drinking debauchee is a violent, often a furious madman. Crimes of all degrees of heinousness are committed by him, and he ends his days, perchance, under the just sentence of the law for those crimes. *The Chinese opium debauchee is a dreaming, quiet, and useless member of society. He, too, ends his days in a pitiable state* ; but he does not superadd those violent crimes so injurious to others, which the former constantly does. *Each dies beggared and despised*, the former often causes the death or destruction of the property of his nearest relations. I have known many Chinese, who habitually used the watery extract of opium (the only preparation of it in their country) for smoking, without feeling the slightest injury. They were moderate men, like our gentlemanly wine-drinkers.”

We have italicised two or three lines, in which the writer expresses *his opinion* regarding the *abuse* of the drug ; his testimony is the more valuable, because he is laboring to extenuate its “sinfulness.” Whether he is right in preferring opium to ardent spirits we will not try to determine. He may “boldly assert” his preference to the one,

and others may as boldly assert their preference to the other; but the assertion of preference weighs little against the plain and simple declaration that the *opium debauchee is a useless member of society*. In saying he has known many who have habitually used opium without "feeling the slightest injury," he no doubt affirmed what he believed to be true; he may have seen, too, many more who have been injured; but on this point he does not inform us. The first person we saw smoking opium, was then using it habitually "*without feeling the slightest injury*;" at least, so he thought, and so we supposed. We have seen many others in the same predicament. But we are constrained to entertain the most serious doubts whether any man can use the article habitually, except as a medicine when afflicted with disease, without injury. The injury may not be at once apparent, while yet it is making sure and steady inroads on the constitution, and the smoker becomes "victimized" ere he is aware of his danger. We have known some most melancholy instances of this kind. A bold avocate, in the Colonial Gazette, says truly, that the consumer of opium, in "that state of debility in which an excessive use of it leaves him, is more fit for his bed or *his grave*, than for an act of desperate physical exertion." The existence of a great evil in the use of ardent spirits, in western countries, and the melancholy detail of loss, ruin, and death caused thereby, is surely no extenuation of the same evil in China, because here it is caused by opium. The latter is not lessened, because the former is estimated to be greater.

Our second extract is from an article in Tait's Magazine, on the use of opium in England, from the pen of William Howitt, esq.

"I have contemplated with horror the rapid increase of the consumption of opium, and its spirituous laudanum, within the last ten years. The ravenous fierceness, with which opium-eaters enter the druggists' shops, when want of money has kept them from their dose beyond their accustomed time of using it, and the trembling impatience with which they watch the weighing of the drug, (every moment appearing to them an age,) and the avidity with which they will seize and tear off their wonted dose, and swallow it — are frightful to be seen; yet must have been seen by many on such occasions. The extent to which this drug is administered by poor women to their children, too, is another crying evil, of which the humane public has little notion; and it is one for which there never will be found any remedy but the abolition of the abominable restrictions on the importation of food. The wretched mother, while her husband is thundering away in his loom, for sixteen hours a-day, and her older children are gone out to the factory, or elsewhere, to help to increase the scanty family revenue, which altogether, does not reach the point of sufficiency; and with, perhaps, two, or three little half-clad and

half-starved brats about her, has also one in the cradle. She has no snug nursery — she has no nurse — she cannot afford even to keep at home an elder daughter for that purpose ; but, on the contrary, she has to cook the family food, such as it is, to wash and mend the family clothes ; and, very probably, besides this, to take in washing or other work. While she is busy at the wash-tub, the child wakes and cries. What shall she do ? At night, while she and her husband should and *must* sleep, or they cannot go through their daily work, the child again wrangles and cries. What shall she do ? There is nothing for it but to go to the druggist's shop for — ‘A Pennyworth of Peace ;’ and what that is anybody in Lancashire can tell you ; and, if you are not in Lancashire I can — it is laudanum, or opium disguised in treacle, and termed in other places Godfrey's Cordial. It is in vain to remonstrate with the poor on this practice — they always ask you what they are to do, and think it unanswerable to add — “ a pen'orth of peace is worth a penny.” Thus are the constitutions of the poor sapped and stupified even in the cradle, and all the wisdom of England cannot point any remedy but that of taking off the violent pressure on the means of existence ; and, if that will not enable the poor of this country to live on bread and cheese and honest beef, instead of opium and quack medicines, then there will be nothing for it but their escaping to those new lands where they can.”

Both in Europe and in America, especially in large cities and in certain fashionable circles, we have heard it intimated, and in part believe, that the use of opium, in various ways and with diverse names, is far more prevalent than is generally supposed. Let those whose duty it is look to this matter. Our next quotation is from the *Calcutta Courier*, 4th September, as given in the *Canton Register* of January 21st. The editor of the *Courier* says :

“In addition to the general interest with which Mr. Bruce's tea report is invested, as descriptive of the present condition of the tea districts, and the very valuable information which it contains relative to the cultivation of that most important article of commerce, it possesses great additional claim to our attention from the observations which it contains relative to the universal prevalence of the use of opium among the wretched inhabitants of Assam, to which, and we believe very justly, Mr. Bruce attributes the present debased character of a people who were once celebrated as a warlike and powerful race, enjoying all the blessings of civilization and good government — and of a fertile and well cultivated country. If the introduction of the poisonous drug into China were productive of the same effects as it is stated to have had in Assam, we need not wonder at the determination evinced by the emperor to put it down at all hazards, and we cannot sufficiently admire the paternal feeling which actuated him on the occasion, and for which the Chinese nation owes him a debt of immeasurable gratitude.

“Mr. Bruce says — ‘This vile drug has kept and does now keep down the population ; the women have fewer children compared with those of other

countries, and these children seldom live to be old men, but in general die at manhood; very few old men being seen in this country in comparison with others. Few, but those who have resided long in this unhappy land, know the dreadful and immoral effects, which the use of opium produces on the native. He will steal — sell his property — his children — the mother of his children — and finally commit murder to obtain it. Would it not be the highest of blessings, if our humane and enlightened government would stop these evils by a single dash of the pen? &c. &c.

“ We, and we may safely say, all who read this will respond in the affirmative — and we would add, with every feeling of respect for the government, that it is their imperative duty to put down the cultivation of opium in every part of our eastern dominions, and in that respect emulate the conduct of one, whom we are pleased to call a barbarian, in paternal solicitude for the millions who are injured by its continuance. If it cannot be done, as suggested by Mr. Bruce, by one dash of the pen, we would vainly hope that, already, are steps taken for its gradual extinction; and in the case of Assam its cultivation — if cultivated in the country — might be put a stop to, and if not, the importation might be prevented. In support of this proposition there is not only the dictate of humanity — but that is backed by self-interest — for in restoring the healthful tone to the inhabitants of the province — increasing the population, and improving their condition, would result incalculable benefits to the state, and which, in a very brief space, would make up for the loss the revenue would sustain from the discontinuance of the production of opium. We would therefore solicit the earnest attention of our government to this most important point. The mooted question of compensation to the owners of the opium seized by the Chinese commissioner will fix the attention of all men in our native land upon this destructive and wicked traffic, and whether the compensation be granted or not, the eyes of the nation will be opened, and the continuance of a trade, which is not less horrible in its ultimate effects than the traffic in human flesh, be denounced by all good men, and if not abandoned spontaneously by the governors of this country, the universal voice of England will compel the government at home to interfere for its speedy suppression.”

Upon this, the editor of the Register remarks: “The Calcutta Courier appears of late to have adopted different sentiments, on the opium trade, from those formerly expressed in its columns, when under the management of former editors. In those days, all idea of diminishing the revenue of Bengal, by abandoning the opium monopoly, was scouted, until another source, which would supply the deficit, was discovered. From the decision of the Bengal government on the several periods of the public sales for 1840, it would appear that the opinions of the Courier, albeit it is the governmental paper, have little weight with the powers that be. We have, however, extracted the article on the use of opium in Assam; for we consider the more

elucidation that can be given to this crucial question, the sooner will sound and practicable opinions be formed." So too we think, and we are glad to see it frequently discussed. We do not wonder that the *Courier* has adopted sentiments on this trade different from those it formerly entertained, and we think it not improbable that many others will do so, when the merits of the case are more perfectly understood.—There is in one of our former volumes (vol. VII, p. 107.) a document, written by a Chinese in one of the central provinces of the empire, containing an account of the injuries of using opium, almost identical with that from the pen of Mr. Bruce.

Mr. Davis, after a residence of some twenty years in this country, almost invariably speaks of opium as a "pernicious drug;" and he says, "its consumption," previous to 1833, "pervaded *all* classes, and had spread with astonishing rapidity through the country." In his second volume, page 453, is a specimen of what he has put on record, touching this matter.

"The engrossing taste of all ranks and degrees in China for opium, a drug whose importation has of late years exceeded the aggregate value of every other English import combined, deserves some particular notice, especially in connection with the revenues of British India, of which it forms an important item. The use of this pernicious narcotic has become as extensive as the increasing demand for it was rapid from the first. The contraband trade (for opium has always been prohibited as hurtful to the health and morals of the people,) was originally at Macao: but we have already seen that the Portuguese of that place, by their short-sighted rapacity, drove it to the island of Lintin, where the opium is kept stored in armed ships, and delivered to the Chinese smugglers by written orders from Canton, on the sales being concluded, and the money paid, at that place."

Before introducing sir Stamford's testimony, we copy two short paragraphs from the *Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette*, of March 29th, 1832. Those who were acquainted with the editor of that paper, well know that he had no disposition to exaggerate the evils either of smuggling or using opium. He notices the different effects produced by opium in its different states — which seem not to have been observed by the writer in the colonial gazette.

"There are some sagacious observations in print lately relative to the mode of introduction and the effects of opium, with which we have been much amused, not from any facetiousness displayed in them, but from the particularly unsound arguments used on the occasion. Opium, it appears, is only nominally interdicted, and the 'chops' which are so frequently published by imperial and subordinate authorities, are mere matters of form. There is, according to these statements, no impediment to the introduction of the drug

into China, but it comes regularly as a foreign import, as it is to be found from the house of the private inhabitant of Canton to the palace of the governor. If this be so, it is a most remarkable piece of over-caution in the Chinese to visit Lintin, where the drug is delivered 'by stealth,' as they certainly do; doubly absurd for them to endeavor to avoid the mandarin cruisers, or to battle with them when escape is impossible; for what have they to fear in the exercise of a business which is declared to be carried on 'openly, freely, in the face of day?' But why is it no longer brought to Whampoa, and why do the dealers here so frequently take the alarm and secrete themselves from the vigilance of the police? Oh, precious logic! The fact of many of the officers of government addicting themselves to the use of opium, and neglecting the injunctions of the higher authorities to suppress the trade is quietly assumed as an evidence of its legality. It would be about as accurate to infer that smuggling in Europe or America was legal, because the custom-house officers were not proof against the bribes given them to connive at such delinquency.

"As regards the effects of opium upon the human system, the denial of its dreadful operation might be pardoned on the score of pitiable ignorance. The drug prepared and administered as it is in China does not produce the same effect as laudanum or crude opium. The effects are directly applied to the nervous system as a sedative, not as the crude drug chewed, which acts when taken in quantity (as by the Malays) as a fierce excitant at first, and during its primary operation that frantic act, denominated running a *muck* is perpetrated. The operation of opium (materially changed in its character by the process it undergoes in its preparation for smoking,) is slow, but sure. It does not produce its baneful effect as rapidly as the drug taken in its other forms, but is equally dangerous to the system. Again — it must be admitted without reserve that what is called opium-smoking in *moderation* is rank nonsense. The slaves to this habit must wind up the system at particular times, or be wretched; they must increase the dose from 'moderation'(!) to excess in order to continue its power over them, and which, like all vicious indulgences, it requires daily an addition in quantity to maintain. As to Chinese running a *muck*, the operation of the opium smoking is not one from which any such result could be expected; the smoker is entranced in a delicious dream, not infuriated like a maniac. A Chinese who smokes opium does not, like the Malay, destroy his fellow-men, but himself; his energies of mind and body are undermined, and he ultimately sinks from the effects of an unnatural condition of the system brought on by the constant use of this pernicious preparation. Wine, taken in health, is universally admitted (unless when used to excess) to be a grateful, healthy stimulant. It exhilarates and benefits the system, and leaves behind it no prostration of strength, no nervous irritability which hurries the smoker to renew his occupation in order to escape from the frightful lassitude and exhaustion which follows the termination of the effect produced upon his system by the use of opium.—Our 'gentle readers' must excuse this medical commentary; but we state these

facts in hopes of presenting the case in its real light, not obscured by sophistry, or supported by worthless argument. The Chinese, and all who have witnessed the effects of opium, admit unreservedly the pernicious consequences of its use, and that though idleness or folly may induce a man to smoke opium at first, yet he finds the habit fasten itself on him so rapidly, and so forcibly, that he who at the commencement of his career determined never to commit an excess, is hurried away against his inclination, and becomes in a short time inveterately addicted to it. As to the trade, we have nothing to say upon the subject at present. Each entertains his own opinion, and our observations are to be confined to the Chinese alone."

What the editor here calls a "nervous irritability," and "prostration of strength," are said by the *victimized* smoker to be horrible beyond conception. One, who had used the drug four or five years, and is now dead from its use, likened the sensations, he felt when the stimulus was gone, to "worms crawling in his stomach, and rats gnawing at his shoulders."

Sir Stamford Raffles, in his History of Java, after much experience and observation, says —

"The use of opium is reckoned disgraceful, and persons addicted to it are looked upon as abandoned characters, and despised accordingly. It has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals, of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power in degrading their character and enervating their energies, as long as the European governments, *overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country.*"

This opinion was published in 1817; and had its author lived to this day, no doubt every year's experience and observation would have strengthened that opinion. His remarks, made with reference to Java, are applicable to China.

If all foreigners had given heed to the imperial prohibitions first issued in 1800, as they ought to have done; if the soil of Hindústan had been used only for beneficial purposes, and the Turkey drug had never found its way out of the Mediterranean, how different would be the condition of China from what it now is! and how different, too, the state of foreign relations with this country! And yet, after all the evils that have been experienced during these forty years, there are men who scout and ridicule every serious proposition that is made for the amelioration of these evils! In giving promineney to this subject, we do not wish other minor evils to be forgotten; but we do wish, if it be possible, the dreadful scourge of opium may be averted from this land. Even to the limited extent to which we are perso-

nally acquainted with its pernicious effects, we cannot contemplate them without grief and sorrow. Having conversed freely with the Chinese on this subject, after all we have seen among them, we are unable to free ourselves from the consciousness that the traffic, as it is now carried on, is exceedingly sinful in the sight of God, and every way calculated to render the name and character of foreigners odious in the eyes of this nation; and with the utmost earnestness we would warn and intreat all men, especially our friends and fellow-residents, to beware how they deal with, or give countenance to, this forbidden thing.

Here we cannot forbear making allusion to the prospectus of the provisional committee, for forming a British India Society for bettering the condition of the natives of British India. A most excellent spirit pervades every part of that paper; a paragraph or two of which we must be allowed to quote.

“It is admitted in Great Britain, and known to be but too true by all who have had personal experience of the real state of India, that although a commercial intercourse has existed between the British Isles and India, for more than two hundred years, and the government of this empire now rules over a hundred millions of the inhabitants of the east, there is nevertheless a general want of information upon Indian affairs, and an almost total indifference felt respecting them. It must be obvious to all who reflect upon these facts that such a state of things contrasts strangely with the duty we owe to our distant dominions, with the extent, the value, and the importance of our East Indian possessions, and with the many and vast interests involved in the question. British India is an empire as large as Europe (exclusive of Russia), with a population, including tributary states, of *more than one hundred and fifty millions*. Over this empire and people, a sway is exercised wholly British, and consequently, the want of an accurate knowledge of Indian affairs, and the absence of a proper concern in the public at large for the welfare of the natives, must operate prejudicially upon their minds, since they cannot but feel that their destinies are influenced by the disposition manifested towards them in the parent country. From the perusal of a variety of official and other documents of recent date, it appears that ignorance, poverty, crime, and disaffection prevail to a distressing and alarming extent, throughout the British Indian territories. It also appears, that during the last *twenty years*, though a period of profound peace, there has been a *succession of famines of the most desolating description*. It has been estimated that the famine of 1837-38 in the upper provinces of Bengal, *swept off more than half a million of the inhabitants*. These calamitous events are rendered the more mysterious and affecting, when viewed in connection with the statement, that the soil of India, is a soil of unequalled fertility, and that a very large portion of it (by some authorities, computed at one-half) is unappropriated, and covered by



unsubdued jungle. Information on the subject has, within the last few months, been laid before the public in various parts of the kingdom. The result has been a deep feeling of compassion in the minds of many humane and influential persons, and the formation of several associations for promoting the welfare of the natives of India. \* \* \* The committee entertain no doubt, that when the vast importance of our Eastern possessions is understood, when the claims of one hundred millions of British subjects are recognized and felt, and when the responsibility and moral obligation of this nation towards them are considered, a great and generous effort will promptly be made, to benefit a country, which contains within itself, the means of returning a hundred-fold into the bosoms of its benefactors, all the blessings they can possibly confer upon it. The committee prefer to make their appeal to the just principles and Christian feelings of the country. They are not ignorant, however, of the extent to which they might address themselves to the loyalty, the patriotism, and the interests of their fellow-citizens. But they believe that such an appeal is unnecessary. They feel convinced that no argument is required, to demonstrate the inseparable connection between the bettering of the social, moral, and intellectual condition of the countless millions of India, and the accomplishment of those ends which are sought by the promoters, and patrons of legitimate commerce, and the advocates of the honor, the stability, and the prosperity of the British empire, at home and abroad."

Attached to this prospectus are the names of major general Briggs, lord Brougham, sir Charles Forbes, William Howitt, esq., and others of like character. We have been told that the British government will not root up the poppy in India. *That* is unnecessary, for were the sowing of the seed neglected for a single season there would be no plants to root up. We have been told that the cultivation is often *compulsory*: advances are made by government, through its native servants, and if the ryot refuses the advance, what then? Why "the simple plan of throwing the rupees into his house is adopted; should he attempt to abscond, the peons seize him, tie the advance up in his clothes, and push him into his house. The business being now settled, and there being no remedy, he applies himself as he may to the fulfilment of his contract." Vast tracts of land, formerly occupied with other articles, are now covered with poppies, which require a very superior soil in order to produce opium in perfection; hence its cultivation has not extended over waste and barren lands, but into those districts and villages best fitted for agricultural purposes, where other plants, "grown from time immemorial," have been driven out before it. (See Kennedy, Stark, and others in evidence on E. I. affairs; Thornton's State and Prospects of India; Mr. Fleming's papers on Revenue; Singapore Free Press, &c.) We have been

told, moreover, that the cultivation is still on the increase, and that new advances have been made this very year; and during this month and the next, another full crop will be gathered, unless divine Providence prevent. Thus one year's crop is just now being sold in Bengal, and another is ripening for the harvest. And who are to be the consumers of these forty thousand chests, with all that from Malwa, and Turkey? When and where will the cultivation and consumption of the article cease? Taking into view the extensive famines that have afflicted India during the last twenty years on the one side, and on the other the great evils caused by the consumption of opium in China, and the strong interdicts against its introduction, would it not be wise to desist from the cultivation of the poppy, and to substitute other articles necessary to supply with food the famishing inhabitants of the land? The Society for bettering the condition of the natives in India will, we hope, early take this subject into consideration.

ART. IV. *Three Years Travels from Moscow overland to China, through Great Ustiga, Siriania, Permia, Siberia, Daour, Great Tartary, &c., to Peking; containing an exact and particular description of the extent and limits of those countries, and the customs, &c. of the barbarous inhabitants. Written by his excellency Evert Ysbrant Ides, ambassador from the czar of Muscovy to the emperor of China. Illustrated with a large map of the countries drawn by the ambassador upon his journey, and many curious cuts. To which is annexed an accurate description of China, done originally by a Chinese author, with several remarks by way of commentary. Printed in Dutch by the direction of Burgomaster Witzzen, formerly ambassador in England; and now faithfully done into English. London, W. Freeman. 1706. pp. 210, quarto.*

WE have not been able to ascertain any further particulars of Ides than those he himself gives; that he was a German in the service of Peter the Great, by whom he was dispatched on this embassy to Kanghe to carry with him the ratification of the treaty negotiated in September, 1689, between Chinese and Russian plenipotentiaries, of

which we have already given a brief notice, on page 417. The work before us is, however, most studiously silent as to the object of the mission, and the nature of the ambassador's credentials, and it is only by the inferences fairly deducible from the time when he was sent, joined to what passed between the negotiators at Nipchú, that lead us to think that such was the object of his mission. Sir George Staunton\* says, he "was sent to Peking with a view of improving the commercial advantages stipulated for by that treaty." Both objects were probably included in his mission. Notwithstanding this reserve, the work is worthy of notice, as supplementary to our account of those negotiations.

It commences with the author's dedicatory epistle to his czarish master, written in the most fulsome style of adulation, setting forth his puissant magnificence, and the extent of his domains, and ending his incense of praise by "imploing the Almighty to preserve his throne for a looking-glass to the world that has not a parallel." It is a dedication worthy of a Chinese or Japanese courtier, for the slavish obsequiousness of its expressions.

Having prepared his equipage and retinue, Ides left Moscow on the 14th of March, 1692, and directed his course to Tobolsk, and from thence, passing by lake Baikal, he reached Tsitsihar, the first Chinese town of note on that frontier. So unsettled was the state of the country from Tobolsk eastward, and so difficult did he find it to provision his large train in the half settled wilds of the Tungusians and Samoieds, that eighteen months were occupied in the journey from Moscow to Tsitsihar in Mantchouria. The journey through their lands was lengthened by his endeavor to get well to the eastward of the great desert of Shamo; for this town lies 420 miles east of the meridian of Peking, as well as many hundreds north of it. Here he met an officer from Peking, who had been deputed to salute him, and who, on being informed of his approach, went out to receive him with an escort of eighty men. At this place, he tarried for a few days to refresh himself, being well feasted by the Chinese officer the while, and he inviting him in return. Speaking of the dinner he gave in return, he says, "I entertained him in the European manner, and put a glass of good sack briskly about, causing the trumpets and other music to play, all which wonderfully pleased this gentleman, so that he and his company returned home pretty mellow."

Leaving Tsitsihar, on the 28th September, 1693, Ides and his retinue, accompanied by the Chinese officer, took their way in a

\* Chinese embassy to the Tourgouth Tartars, page 12, note.

southwesterly direction, through an almost uninhabited country, and reached the Great Wall on the 29th of October. He was highly pleased with the sight of this gigantic work, partly it may be supposed from the prospect of meeting better accommodations beyond it, and he describes it in proportion to his admiration.

“This really seems to be one of the wonders of the world. About 500 fathoms from this famous wall [at the place we passed it] is a valley, each side of which was provided with a battery of hewn stone, from one of which to the other a wall about three fathoms high is erected with an open entrance. Passing through this fore wall, we came to the entry of the great wall, through a watch tower, about eight fathoms high, arched over with hewn stone, and provided with massy doors strengthened with iron; the wall runs from east to west, across the valley up the extraordinary high rocks, and about five hundred fathoms distant from the other, hath on the rocks on each side of it a tower built. The foot of this wall was of large hewn quarry-stone, for about a foot high, and the remaining upper part was composed of brick and lime, but as far as we can see, the whole was formerly built with the same stone. Within this first port, we came into a plain full one hundred fathoms broad; after which we came to another guard-port, which had a wall on each side, and like the first wall, was carried quite across the vale; and this as well as the first port, was guarded by a watch of fifty men. On the first or great wall stands an idol temple, with the ensigns of the idol, and the emperors flying on the top of it. The wall is full six fathoms high, and four thick, so that six horsemen may easily ride abreast on it, and was in as good repair as if it had not been erected above twenty or thirty years since; no part of it being fallen, nor annoyed by the least weed or filth, as other old walls are observed to be.”

The first city he reached beyond the great wall was Galchan or Galge, where he was “welcomed by the discharge of three iron guns,” invited to sup with the governor, and amused with plays. From this place, he passed through Shantooning and Xungunxa (‘Tsunhwa chow ?) to Ke chow and Tang chow. The last he describes as a place of considerable trade, at which the produce for the capital is landed, and where also he was invited to a noble entertainment. Our traveler is not a whit behind more modern ones in expatiating again and again on his fare, and telling his readers with what good things he was feasted. From Tang chow to Peking was one day’s journey, and as he approached the metropolis, he remarked the gardens fenced with stone walls, the cypresses and cedars planted along the paths, and adds with much naïveté, “the gates of the finest gardens were set open, I suppose purposely on my account.” He describes the country between the wall and Peking “as plain, and good

arable ground, on which grows rice, barley, millet, wheat, oats, pease, and beans, but no rye." On his entry into the capital, with his convoy of ninety persons, the crowd was so dense as to give some interruption to his progress, which we can easily suppose if the streets of Peking are as narrow as those of Canton. On reaching the ambassador's court, he "was instantly stored with all manner of provisions and refreshments." And adds, that, "we every morning returned thanks to the great God, who after a long and difficult journey of one year and eight months, had at last conducted us safe and well to our desired place, without the loss of any more than one man."

After a repose of three days, the emperor gave him a welcoming feast at the palace, which he minutely describes; after inventorying the dishes, he says the "table appointed for me alone was about an ell square, upon which the dishes were all of silver, and piled one upon another, amounted, as I told them, to the number of seventy." In tantalizing contrast to this minuteness worthy of an epicure he simply says, when describing his audience: "I found a great number of mandarins at the court, all clothed in their richest embroidered robes, such as they wear in the emperor's presence, who waited for me." After we had mutually exchanged compliments, the emperor appeared on his throne; upon which I delivered his czarish majesty's credentials, and after the usual ceremonies and a short speech, was conducted back." This silence was probably kept by order of Peter, who, in common with his successors, seems to have endeavored to keep Europeans in a measure ignorant of Russian diplomacy with Asiatic courts.

Four days after, the ambassador was invited to a banquet in the palace, where he was obliged to sit upon his legs to his great inconvenience. In reading Ides' narrative, one cannot avoid noticing the self-satisfaction and complacency, with which he narrates what he did, and what was done to him; he is so well pleased with himself, his czarish majesty, and his office and dignity as ambassador, that he has but little leisure to describe much else. He says, speaking of the invitation to the present entertainment, "I was informed that I was invited to eat before the emperor; wherefore, accompanied by the mandarins thereto appointed, and my retinue, I rode to court. As soon as I entered, the emperor mounted his throne. . . . The emperor sent the viceroy to me with the utmost respect, to ask after the health of their czarish majesties; to which I returned the proper answer." At this feast, he saw some of the Jesuit fathers, who were called in to interpret

“The emperor sent me from his table, a roast goose, a pig, a loin of very good mutton, and soon after several dishes of fruit, and a sort of drink composed of boiled tea, fried meal, and butter, which looked not unlike bean or coffee decoction: having received all which, with due respect, his majesty ordered the viceroy to ask me, what European languages I understood. To which I answered, I could speak the Muscovite, German, Low Dutch, and a little Italian. Upon which he immediately dispatched some servants to the hinder part of the palace, which done, there instantly appeared three Jesuits, who approached the throne. And after kneeling, and performing their reverence to the emperor, he commanded them to arise. One of these was father John Francis Gerbillon a Frenchmen; and the two others were Portuguese, one of them called father Anthony Thomas. The emperor ordered father Gerbillon to me; who coming towards me speaking Italian, asked me in the emperor's name how long I had been traveling from Moscow to Peking, and which way I came, by waggon, on horseback, or by water. To which I returned satisfactory answers: on which returning to his majesty, he informed him: who immediately answered, *gowa, gowa*, which is very well. The emperor then ordered the viceroy to acquaint me that it was his most gracious pleasure that I should approach nearer the presence, by coming up to the throne; upon which I arising, the viceroy taking me by the hand, after having led me up six steps, set me at the table opposite to the emperor. After I had paid my most humble respects to his majesty, he talked with father Gerbillon, who again asked me how long I had been on the way hither, in what manner I traveled, and in what latitude Moscow was situate, and how far distant from Poland, France, Italy, Portugal, or Holland. To all which I observed my answer proved very satisfactory. Upon which he gave the viceroy a gold cup of Tartarian liquor called kumis, in order to hand it to me; which with due respect I accepted, and having tasted, returned it. This kumis, according to the report of the attendants, is a sort of brandy distilled from mare's milk. After this the emperor ordered my retinue to advance within three fathoms of his throne, and entertained them with the same liquor; which being done, I paid my compliment in the European manner, and the viceroy took me by the hand, conducting me to my former place, where after sitting for a quarter of an hour, I was desired to rise.

“The throne is placed opposite to the eastern entrance, against the hind wall, and is about three fathoms broad, and as many long; before it are two ascents with six steps each, and adorned with rails and cast representations of leaves very well gilt: on the right and left sides were also rails of cast imagery, which some report to be gold, and others silver; which are also extraordinary well gilt. Exactly in the middle of this raised place is a throne somewhat like an altar, which opens with two doors: and in it the emperor's seat about an ell high, covered with black sables, on which he sat with his legs across under him. This monarch was then aged about 50 years, his mien was very agreeable, he had large black eyes, and his nose was somewhat raised; he wore small black mustachies, but had very little or no beard

on the lower part of his face; he was very much pitted with the small pox, and of a middling stature. His dress consisted of a common dark-colored damask waistcoat, a coat of deep blue satin, adorned with ermines, beside which he had a string of coral hanging about his neck, and down on his breast. He had a warm cap on turned up with sable, to which was added a red silk knot, and some peacocks' feathers hanging down backwards. His hair, plaited into one lock, hung behind him. He had no gold nor jewels about him. He had boots on, which were made of black velvet."

After receiving these attentions from the emperor, the governor of the city and other high officers entertained him with the performances of play-actors and jugglers, which highly amused him.

"Others so nicely played with round glass-balls as big as a man's head, at the point of a sharp stick, tossing them several ways, without breaking or letting them fall, that it was really surprising: After this, a bamboo cone about seven foot high, was held upright by six men, and a boy, about ten years old, crept up to the top of it as nimbly as a monkey, and laid himself on his belly upon the point or end of it, turning himself several times round; after which, rising up, he set one foot on the bamboo, holding fast to it with one hand, and then loosing his hold, clapped his hands together, and run very swiftly down, and shewed several other feats of agility which were very wonderful."

Similar diversions were played before Ismayloff, which Bell of Antermomy describes. The governor also gave him a dinner, at which, among other delicacies handed to him was, "a larger dish of tea than ordinary, in which was put peeled walnuts and hazlenuts, with a little iron spoon, to take them out on occasion, which tasted very agreeably." While dining, "a play was acted, interlaced with songs and dances by little boys dressed in girl's clothes." By the kindness of this officer, he was conducted over the city, and the surprise he expresses at the elegance of those manufactures he examined, the contents of the imperial dispensary, the beauty of the gold fish, and other things which were shown him, betokens a great ignorance of China at that time among the Russians.

On the 7th of January, the Chinese new year occurred, which was celebrated with their usual hilarious clangor, insomuch that from ten at night till next day at noon, "there was as great a noise as if two armies of one hundred thousand men were in the heat of battle." For three days, the shops were shut, "and all merchandising forbidden on penalty of severe punishment." In this last particular, he was probably misinformed or mistaken, for the period of new year is a holy day, which all classes willingly observe by cessation from all business. While at Peking, he visited the college of the

Jesuits, and was as usual "well satisfied with the entertainment of the fathers." He was also invited to see the imperial stables:

"About this time, two mandarins came from the cham, to invite me to take the diversion of seeing the city: accordingly I mounted, with my retinue, and these mandarins conducted me to the emperor's elephant-stable, where stood fourteen of those beasts, one of which was white; having then seen them, that was not enough, but they must show several tricks, and, at the command of the master of the stable, they roared like a tyger, so dismally loud, that their very stable seemed to tremble: others lowed like an ox, neighed like a horse, and sung like a canary-bird; but, which was most surprising of all, some of them imitated a trumpet. After this they were obliged to pay their respects to me on their four knees; to lie down first on one side, then on the other, then to rise up. When they lie down, they first strike out their fore-legs forward, and then throw out their hind-legs backward, and by this means lie with their bellies flat upon the ground. One of them was not broken, and by reason he was very unruly, he was loaded with heavy chains on two feet, and, for the whole time he had stood there, had not been removed from his place; and a great pit was dug before his stall, that in case he broke loose, he should fall into it, and be prevented from coming into the court to do any mischief. All these elephants were extraordinary large, and the teeth of some of them were a full fathom long. The mandarins told me, that they came from the king of Siam, who annually sends several, by way of tribute, to the emperor of China. Their food was only rice-straw bound up in small truffles, which they take up one after another, with their trunk, and convey to their mouths.

"After a satisfactory sight of what I desired, I rode with the mandarins to my apartment; and as we were on our way, I observed, at the door of a considerable mandarin, and a great officer, some persons fleaing of a fat dog; upon which I asked the mandarin, wherefore that was done. Who answered, that it was a healthful sort of food, especially in summer, it being very cooling. After I had handsomely treated these mandarins, they went away."

The time for his departure approaching, he says, "the emperor sent two mandarins to desire me to be ready to receive my audience of leave two hours before day. At break of day, I was introduced among the mandarins, who were placed according to the particular rank of each of them; and after waiting half an hour, the emperor approached, accompanied with an agreeable concert of fifes, and a sort of lute. On each side of the throne were two great drums, placed on stools and curiously gilt and painted, each of them two fathoms and a half long.

"By his command, the herald which stood before the throne, went to the presence-chamber door, directed himself to the lords which sat without in the court, and uttering some words with a shrill voice, he thrice succes-



sively cried, stand up, bow to the earth ! Whilst this was three times done one after another, the bells were rung, the drums were beaten, the lute was touched, and three pipes, made for that purpose, were very loudly sounded. Then two principal lords were, by the emperor, sent to acquaint me, that it was his majesty's pleasure, that I should approach nearer the presence ; accordingly they led me, by the hand, from the place where I was, being about eight fathoms distant from the throne, where my retinue were left sitting : and I sat down on one side, about three fathoms from the royal throne, betwixt two great lords ; and after having paid a respectful compliment to the emperor, his great bell was rung, and the large drums, on each side, were beaten, which made as great a noise as a volley of guns ; the flutes were also played on, and the before-mentioned pipes nine times sounded : upon which I was desired to sit down ; which having done, a dish of coffee or bean decoction was presented to me, which I accepted, and drunk up. And after I had dispatched the affairs of their czarish majesties, with the emperor, I rose up, and having paid my compliment to him, he also arose from his throne, and went out at the west-door to his apartment."

From the expressions here and elsewhere used, it would appear that Ides made no objection in complying with the forms of the Chinese court, but performed the *kotow* (a thing, however, he does not mention). Sir George Staunton, quoting from the edition to the *Tourgouth Tartars*, page 12, of 1698, says, "the ambassador being reconducted by the *adogeda* to his seat, the Chinese, all on a sudden, placed themselves on the right side upon their bended knees, knocking their heads against the ground three times, whilst the emperor was descending from the throne. We were led by the two *adogedas* to the same place, where we were obliged to perform the same ceremony." This sentence does not occur in the edition before us. According to Bell, Ismayloff made many objections and endeavored to avoid rendering this act of homage, but unsuccessfully. It was in his case, settled, "that the ambassador should comply with the established customs of the court of China ; and when the emperor sent a minister to Russia, he should have instructions to conform himself in every respect to the ceremonies in use at that court." As if with reference to this stipulation, in his instructions to Tulinshin, the envoy to the *Tourgouth Tartars*, Kanghe, speaking of an interview with the czar, says, "if he (the czar) happens not to be desirous to see you, and consequently sends no messengers to invite you to a conference, it is very immaterial. As to the order and ceremonial of your reception, it may be conformable to the customs and ceremonies of that country."\*

\* Staunton embassy to *Tourgouth Tartars*, page 12.

Having had his final audience with the emperor, Ides began to prepare for his return, which he did by purchasing a large number of extra camels and mules for carrying the baggage and merchandize through Siberia. He left Peking the 19th of February, 1694, "accompanied out of the city-gate with a numerous train of great officers of state," and also attended by a deputy as far as the confines of the desert, who had orders to furnish the whole company with everything they required at the emperor's charge. As soon as they left the Chinese territories, provisions and forage began to be scarce, and it was with much trouble, the party reached the river Sadun, where they halted two days to refresh. During this repose, he remarks that "a Chinese envoy, with a hundred armed men came up to me, who by command of the emperor, was by the viceroy of Tartary, dispatched from the city of Mergheen, with orders to accompany me to Nerzinskoy, there to treat concerning some affairs with the governor." This addition was a great relief to Ides, who was apprehensive of an attack from the "strowling parties of robbers" thereabouts.

Soon after he left this place, the whole encampment was endangered by the grass taking fire. It had been kindled to windward, and the smoke gave indications of its approach before it reached them, so that some time was afforded for the horses and camels to scatter. However,—

"Within the space of half an hour, the air was wholly darkened with the smoke, and the fire driven on by a stormy wind, flew swifter than a horse could run, into the vale, where the dry grass was about half an ell high; so that it was scarce possible either to escape or quench such a rapid flame: the fire flew, or rather flashed, by our camp, as swift as lightning, so that whilst I turned myself round, it was got to the short grass, and behind the brow of a hill: notwithstanding its speedy flight, we did not clearly escape it, for the flame laying hold of our foremost row of tents, immediately sent ten or twelve of them burning into the air: great quantities of our merchants goods were consumed, and fourteen men struck down by it, which were miserably burned, and some of them taken up for dead; but after necessary care was taken for their recovery, only one Persian died. I was myself in great danger, and if I had not in time run to a hill where there was scarce any grass, and been assisted by two servants, which covered me with a felt, to keep off the heat, I should not have escaped better than those above-mentioned. The flame was no sooner past us than it visited the Chinese ambassador, who was encamped at some distance from us, amongst the hills, where, to his good fortune, there happened to be very little grass, so that the fire passed about and over the hill, but was not violent enough to catch hold of any thing, so that their horses tails only were a little burned, or rather singed."

Before they reached Arguin, near Nerzinskoy, they were nearly famished. Indeed, the recital of the hardships endured for want of food, both for man and beast, their apprehensions of attack from the Tartars, and the losses by reason of the death of the baggage animals is in sad contrast to the plenty, safety, and expedition that attended them while in the limits of the Chinese empire. We are told nothing of the errand of the Chinese messenger from Mergheen at Nerzinskoy, and Ides summarily dispatches his journey from thence to Moscow, where he arrived January 1st, 1695, after an absence of two years and ten months.

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*ART. V. Note on article second No. 9. for January—Progress of the difficulties between the English and Chinese, &c., by C. R.*

THE importance of the interests staked upon the controversy between the parties referred to in the above named article, the bearing it has on property and life, and the wide diversity of opinion prevailing on many of its points, are the chief motives to discuss the subject often and fully. It is not only allowable, but proper, that the residents should express their personal views, however differing; and having done this, leave the impartial and the intelligent elsewhere to decide. This was the design of C. R. His remarks were meant merely as the results of a calm review of an agitating question, and he adds this note, because some explanations have been asked, and some expressions misunderstood, if not offense taken.

As respects the resistance of the foreigners to the attempted execution in December, C. R.'s opinion was based on the conviction, that the ground so invaded, was leased property. This belief rests on the fact of its enclosure down to the time of the great fire (1821); the repeated proposals to reënclose it since that time; the claim to it set up, and the power exercised over it, by the holders of front factories; the reënclosure of it at present for the exclusive use of the foreigners, &c. If, however, these grounds are not good, then the resistance should not have been made, nor should it, in any case, have been marked by any violence.

The assumption, that the select committee would have sacrificed the opium trade, in March last, was taken up on the ground of their

constant disavowal of protection to it in China, and especially on the declaration of the committee in 1826, (quoted in Phipps' work on the China Trade:) of course, under opposite orders from the honorable Court, the committee would have acted differently.

C. R. did not mean to convey any imputation on British honor, by repeating, in the 12th paragraph, a very common quotation — as often applied to the government of his own as of any other country. No doubt the superintendent felt that the loss must be submitted to, and that being the case, it were best, the right of recovery, whatever it were, should be vested in her majesty.

When the article, under comment, was written, C. R. did not know that the superintendent disclaimed the stoppage of the British trade, and threw the onus of the same on the Chinese government. His argument upon this point is entitled to great consideration; indeed when full copies of his official papers come before the community, it may be a duty, as it will be a pleasure, not only to exonerate, but to approve this portion of his measures. Meantime we may be excused, if we make the same mistake on this head, which has been made by high legal authority in India.

C. R. did not know that any doubt rested on the point, that an exemption from bonds was held out, to induce the English to remain at their factories. If he is mistaken in this idea, he will at once withdraw a remark, which was, and still is, supposed to stand on the best authority.

The remainder of the 15th paragraph has not been understood or mistaken entirely. Indeed it is freely admitted, by C. R. on review, that, unexplained, it may become justly offensive, though not intentionally so. When the first bond was signed, the impression went abroad, that it was by the direct efforts of the resident merchants, its clauses had been made to operate only upon the masters and crews of vessels. Thus commodore Read complained at the time — “the merchants and supercargoes have succeeded in exempting *themselves*, from the penalties attached, but the bond is yet left to operate upon masters and crews of vessels, who, from their dependent situation, are obliged to comply, &c.” This officer's opinion is here given, as before, because his name is a guaranty both for intelligence and friendliness, and to show that such an idea *did* find circulation. So far as it prevailed, it gave the impression, that the substitution was an unfair one. To repeat and reply to the inquiries then, and often made, why it was so done, was the object of the last sentences of the 15th paragraph. They are not to be understood as ascribing what-

ever may be unfair, in the transaction, to the residents, but to the senior hong merchant. He was required to arrange the bonds; he knew his employers, and he knew that if opium was ever detected, and a severe provincial officer demanded the offenders, it would be required of the cohong to search for him among the shipping. To neutralize opposition on the part of the residents, he probably saw no way so good, as to set them aside altogether, to make it in fact none of their business, and to fix all responsibility on the shipping. They took the exemption as it was—as a release from a most harsh demand; he, we suppose, meant it as buying them off, as getting rid of their resistance.

C. R. never believed that the residents would accept a bribe, much less that they would lend themselves to the surrender of a countryman. The word has no meaning, except as descriptive of the supposed design and management of the senior hong merchant. He acted, because he was *compelled* to fix responsibility somewhere; and besides, he naturally chose to save friends and expose strangers. They accepted the exemption for themselves, and the only matter of regret is, that the failure to do as well for others, has laid them open, even with their friends, to sad misconstruction. This explanation, it is hoped, will be of use to do away an idea from which C. R. suffers, as well as others, his countrymen. In fact, he has been careful to make no exception in his own favor.

As concerns matters of trade since the retirement, C. R.'s argument is one for simple neutrality. More than once within a few years, the government of the United States has been brought to the verge of war, in consequence of acts committed by belligerent powers on its neutral citizens. With this experience before us, it becomes every one to beware of transactions tending to throw a doubt on the nationality of property, and so tempting belligerent invasion. Hence arise the objections, C. R. has stated, to agency for British houses, and still more to purchases of British shipping, in these times of expected hostilities. The late edicts of confiscation, the interference with the funds of several American ships, the prohibition to bring goods from British ports, &c., are all so many comments on the argument aforesaid, so many evidences of already awakened suspicion.

In commenting on the course of the superintendent, as well as on that of the American representative, C. R. has felt all the embarrassment that naturally arises on expressing a single opinion unfavorable to men for whom he feels the sincerest respect and friendship; he never intended to question the just and honorable intentions of those

gentlemen, or their perfect right to act upon their own judgment in the late emergencies. Indeed, the recent intelligence is much more favorable to their course, than to the views of C. R. The public acts of public men are, however, open, everywhere by common consent, to frank and calm discussion. On such points as deeply affect private interests, differences of opinion will always arise, and it is in fact for the interest of the public man that they be discussed early and fully. He is thus directed to the points where misapprehension has arisen, or cautioned where inattention or some like cause was leading him into error. As to the *manner* of such discussion, it should ever be calm and impartial; and if in any respect C. R. has offended against these rules, or has advanced what is erroneous or in any way unfair, he will be forward and happy to repair his inadvertency.

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ART. VI. *Reply to article second, in the Repository for January, in a letter addressed to the editor, dated Canton February 14th, 1840.* By NON SINE CAUSA.

[In the article by C. R. in our last, and in that here introduced, there is somewhat which might well have been modified, or omitted. Our pages are designed for a Repository of facts, rather than for forensic debate. Yet when great and difficult questions are pending, it is desirable they should be freely and fairly discussed. To this no one will object. But there is danger of making partial or erroneous statements, or of making them in objectionable terms, liable to be misunderstood. We express our unfeigned regret that any such should ever appear in our columns. In future, we hope our correspondents will be more guarded in what they write. Having admitted C. R.'s paper, we feel bound to admit the reply. How to remove existing evils, extend and secure honorable commerce, and open and establish friendly relations—such commerce and such relations as shall be mutually beneficial and satisfactory—are great objects—now, more than ever before, demanding from all careful consideration.]

DEAR SIR,—In the conclusion of the leading article in your number for January, I observe that you allude to a long communication which had “just been put into your hands;” and you say that you “are encouraged to except more from the same and other writers,” and that you expect by a comparison of the views of different persons, the “due medium” may be found out, and that, “order, peace, good will, and prosperity will be secured.”

If you expect a comparison of the views of different persons, so that a “due medium” may be arrived at, you may be perfectly safe

in putting the article by C. R. upon the very extreme line on one side; no one can go beyond his Utopian ideas, nor arrive nearer the confines of truth and honesty of purpose; no one *professing* a Christian spirit, far less any one *possessing* a particle thereof, can go beyond C. R. Even admitting his statements to be correct, there is a spirit of jealousy stamped in every line, there is a degree of self-esteem and arrogance in the language of the article, under notice, which renders it a harmless missive; its venom must recoil on the writer. The article would be entirely beneath my notice, or that of any American merchant in Canton, were your journal to stop its circulation here; but shall we endorse the cold blooded slanders of C. R. by permitting them to cross the ocean? Shall we see a respectable individual, like our consul, vilified, and shut our mouths? Forbid it, truth and justice! However, Mr. Editor, I shall confine my strictures, principally to the libels on the American merchants of Canton, leaving the consul and the superintendent to speak for themselves, if they consider C. R. worthy of flagellation. C. R. writes well; therefore he can claim no immunity from me on the score of ignorance; I need make no apologies for my style, for your readers will readily see that I am a plain man; and all who are acquainted with the subject, will say that the truths I write must put down error, however, homely the garb in which they are clothed.

I am quite amused at the temerity of C. R. in wishing to submit even the opium question, and the relation growing out of it, to the "papiers sensibles," for in close connection with that question, in some shape or another, would be found most transactions of the general trade, in which C. R. and all other American merchants have been successful operators. C. R. expects *praise* from one, *criticism* from another, and *abuse* from a third: he will be disappointed in the *first* most assuredly, and through he will have plenty of *criticism*, he will be spared *abuse*,—for on looking into "Webster" I find that "*abuse*" means "improper treatment," "perversion of meaning," "rude speech," &c., all these definitions it will be difficult to apply to anything that the English language is susceptible of in relation to the article of C. R. If he considers his tirade of thirty pages, "a brief repetition of some opinions on the past stages of the controversy," spare us, I pray you, the infliction of his *full statements*.

In regard to the opinions of C. R., I would say briefly, in reply to his reasoning on paragraph 7th, that his position is a wrong one; for had the government been actuated by a sincere desire to put down the opium trade, it would have succeed; this is amply proved

by the fact, that the first sincere efforts for its suppression have been successful. In relation to paragraph 7th, I would say, that C. R. approves of the interference of the foreigners on the occasion of the first attempt to execute a Chinese in front of the factories, because he took an active part in that interference; the repetition of the act, or rather the carrying out of the attempt alluded to, was the *consequence* of that *very proper interference*, and not because the importers of the drug did not "lay the first lesson to their hearts." I pass over paragraphs 8, 9, and 10, leaving one of the many friends of the superintendent to notice them.

Paragraph 11th. C. R. says the honorable Company's committee would have ordered off the ships, and deported Mr. Dent. C. R. should remember that Mr. Dent was one of many, and was not particularly subject to the notice of the Chinese authorities until we were all prisoners; and then if the select committee had been here, it would have afforded him the same protection which captain Elliot did, and the act would have been equally praiseworthy; and the individual who would hesitate, under similar circumstances, to do as he did would be subject to the censure of every honorable mind.

Par. 12th. All who know captain Elliot, will be slow to believe, that he estimated for a moment the value of the surrendered drug in comparison with the safety of his countrymen; this last was his primary object, and he never dwelt on any other consideration.

Par. 13th. I agree entirely with C. R. that the Americans pursued the wisest course in remaining in Canton, instead of retreating with their English friends to the great prejudice of their own interests, and the interests of their constituents; but I had a different feeling at the time, and would have retired had others been so disposed; this, as matters have turned out, would have been a great error, I do not agree with C. R. as to the *motives* for remaining; not a man remained here because he was unwilling "to stake his chance of sympathy and support on an opium quarrel," but *every merchant* remained here, I believe, because he felt himself personally secure from danger, and because he expected to reap the reward of his continued partial imprisonment, to say nothing of his duty to his constituents.

Par. 14th. C. R. attempts to show that the English committed a geographical error in going outside the Bogue; or, in other words, that they were no more safe outside than in! Most assuredly they "assumed, that life and property were unsafe within the Bogue, and safe at the outer anchorages," and the result has borne out those assump-



tions; the Chinese *did not* yield their claim to the jurisdiction over the various anchorages; but they *did* no more, they *dared* do no more, than annoy the ships, causing them to move a few miles on or about the day that they had previously meditated retiring; and the sanction of the commissioner to the then trade, between British and Americans, was actually given, as also that of the superintendent, the *former* by chop to the United States consul, as C. R. tells us further on in paragraph 23d, and the *latter* by tacit consent, backed by the presence of the superintendent himself.

Par. 15th. *The bond!* The subject of the signature of the bond, has been publicly discussed before, and a *very near friend of C. R's*, has said, that the odium of first signing it, has been frankly assumed by the party to whom it justly belonged; but he forgot that the party assuming the responsibility at that time, did it only *on one condition*, namely, that if the sin thus committed should weigh too heavily, or rankle in the breast of *C. R's friend*, or any body else, that party would assume the responsibility; and as this said *friend* did endeavor to throw off what he considered an awful responsibility, he thereby admitted that his conscience pricked him. C. R. knows full well, and knew at the time he so "reluctantly assented to the bond," that no one declined signing it because he thought it a dangerous document, but because it was well known that to yield one step to the Chinese, would give them an advantage.

C. R. can rest assured that many calm statements, in reference to the signature of the bond, were made; it is true that these were made without the especial sanction, and approval of C. R.; the unpardonable error was committed, of not consulting this paragon of human excellence, "this second Daniel!" C. R. was probably the identical "*American resident*," who had been promised a virtual immunity from the bond! We have his word for that, and nothing more; and it can easily be credited, that his vanity led him into the belief, that what he states was truth. In reference to this C. R. says, "unhappily these fair prospects were clouded over, a bond was signed, &c." I would ask him, what prospects? Did the *resident* publish, that if a little time could be gained, the bond would be quashed? No; he cherished the idea with characteristic vanity, equalled only by that of C. R., that *he individually* would be the favored one, all others might, from their *suspicious characters and knavish pursuits*, be compelled to sign bonds, but *he*, the *pure*, the *uncontaminated 'resident'*, would proudly hold up his head, and say, "Lin knows whom to trust," "my word is as good as my bond;" if he ever had any reason

to expect such immunity, he fully expected to make a private use of it.

C. R. accuses the Americans, his neighbors, with *meanness* for making it necessary for the captains to sign the bonds, instead of themselves. He says, "were they the authors of these troubles?" "Had they been the chief encouragers of this traffic, &c." "No—the resident merchants." C. R. here assumes the false ground, that the resident merchants, then in Canton, were "*en masse*," engaged in the opium trade, and desired to carry it on, and shift the responsibility on the captains! I pronounce this to be neither more nor less than *most atrocious intimation*, conceived in malignity, and born with falsehood stamped upon its face. Surely, if there was any danger of opium being brought in, accidentally, or secretly, it must have been known to the captains; and C. R. with all his venom, will hardly go so far as to say, that the captains were to be inveigled into bringing in the drug by the residents, and afterwards be asked to sign the bond. The fact is, Mr. Editor, the captains knew the tenor of the bond before entering the port, and the captains under my control, as agent for their owners, were not (like C. R's captains,) servants of mine. C. R. knew perfectly well that his signature, or that of his agent in Canton, would satisfy the authorities as well as the name of the captain, and therefore if he considered it 'mean' to put the responsibility on the captains, *why did he do it?* And for the reason, why was it settled that the captains should sign the bond? "Because the wily head of the cohong knew whom he dealt with, and that, to subdue the opposition of hardy sailors, to have a victim forthcoming, when the time of sacrifice should arrive, it was necessary *to bribe the resident agents.*" This is truly a most rancorous, unjust, and libelous sentence; but to any one acquainted with the Chinese character, it excites only laughter, and falls upon the too lofty head of C. R.

Par. 16th. C. R. tells you that there were reasons for signing the *first bond*, as a temporary measure: I presume one of the most urgent, was that he had a ship at that moment in port, which he was extremely anxious to dispatch; and I will take this occasion to remark that, C. R. finds a good excuse for going just so far, in the measures leading to the heinous offenses committed by his countrymen, *as suits his own interest.* No man who signed the bond thought for a moment that by doing so he would keep opium out of his ship, he signed it because he was perfectly sure that, from other considerations, none could come in her, and that by doing it, his cargo would certainly be on its way to its destination much sooner than if he declined. If,

as C. R. says, and attempts to prove by stating that "no conviction could legally take place under the bond, and that there were reasons for signing the bond," why was it an act of meanness to ask the captains to do so? As to the *second bond*, C. R. knows perfectly well, that originated in the precedent established by the "Thomas Coutts," and not in any newly promulgated law; for it is clear, that the most lenient bond would have been quite enough, with the publication of the law; but I deny that there is any essential difference in the two bonds; if the Chinese are disposed to be sanguinary, we are equally at their mercy, bond or no bond.

Par. 17th. This has very little to do with the questions between C. R., and the Americans, whose course I am attempting to justify; but a very cursory survey of its contents affords me so good an opportunity to notice the inconsistency of C. R., that I cannot refrain from giving it a passing word. In paragraph 14th C. R. says, "The harsh requisition (to stop the British trade,) came from the British representative," "and the guardian of British interests, on this side the Pacific inflicted, with his own hands, the losses, &c.;" after this he tells you, in the article under review, that the English residents, having made their election to retire, were bound to stand manfully by the cruel injunctions of the superintendent; in one breath C. R. accuses him of "great official errors," and in the next, he gilds the pill, with a little flattery. Every American in Canton will readily assent to the sentiment of C. R., that the superintendent was particularly considerate to the Americans; thereby proving that he entertained for them a much better feeling than their fellow countryman C. R. did; and notwithstanding the "eager avidity," with which, he says, they began to look on the profits of this illicit gain, they may rest assured that if, C. R. and his cant, were put into the scale against the most humble of the Americans, and Elliot should hold the scales, C. R. would be found wanting. The idea of abandoning the means of procuring cargoes for our American constituents, and of refusing consignments from our English friends, because Elliot had issued precautionary injunctions to keep the crown aloof from further responsibilities, is too supremely ridiculous to merit more than one of C. R.'s contemptuous sneers.

As to the opinions of the American commodore, if I had the desire, I would bring forward, at least as strong quotations, in favor of the trade, carried on in American ships as C. R. can against it. The worthy commodore was comparatively a stranger here, and did not profess, as C. R. does, to instruct his countrymen, and all the world

besides, as to what was best to be done with their own affairs. In this paragraph the 'cloven foot' shews itself again. C. R. says, (what I must confess I never heard of before,) that the superintendent sanctioned the purchases of British goods, with bills! This is new to me, and I should as soon have thought of asking the superintendent's permission to do this, as of asking him to allow me to consume the produce of England at my table.

As to the feeling of the English towards their American agents, "after they had yielded to their losses, and sent their property within the river:" I am unconscious of any such feeling towards me, but I can easily conceive, that C. R., who had reviled every opium agent, should have imagined, and perhaps justly conceived, that his English friends, with whom he exchanged bills for cotton, should have had a most contemptuous opinion of his principles, which carried him, strait along an imaginary line of his own creating; to go on either side of which, he considered a deadly sin in any other man.

Par. 18th. Is only a register of the consummate vanity of C. R., and requires no notice.

Par. 19th. Is rather a good one, and treats of the blockade notice of the 11th September; the only good results of which, *to Americans*, were the enhanced value of freights, and the opportunity of testing *principle versus profit*, in the person of an intimate friend of C. R., who on that trying occasion had a ship loading at Hongkong.

I pass over article 20th, and come to the 21st. C. R. asserts, what he certainly can have no proof of, and thereby subjects himself to the just imputation of a perverted heart, that "ship after ship was sold for nominal considerations;" this, I fully believe to be false, though I would not charge C. R. with a deliberate intention of uttering so grave an untruth; *I do distinctly charge him with an acrimonious feeling, a petty meddling and jealous disposition*; after giving full vent to these feelings he pounces upon the American consul, and to him, I leave the reply, fully satisfied that he will get his deserts from that gentleman.

Par. 23d. C. R. says, the affair at Chuenpe, "as it threw an additional doubt on the safety of British property, within the grasp of the Chinese, gave a new impulse to transhipments;" the oracle has told you that British property, *only nominally covered*, was illicitly being carried to Whampoa; he must have very strange ideas of the sagacity of the British merchants to suppose, that the *greater the danger* to their property *the more anxious* they should be to put it in jeopardy. C. R. has told you that the superintendent consented to the

transhipments, and he *now* tells you that the commissioner, had given his consent; wherein then (having the consent of both sides) was the sin of carrying British property to Whampoa? And what would have been the position of British and American trade at this moment, if the Americans had not committed these grievous sins, in the eyes of C. R., *sins only* when they passed the imaginary line drawn by himself. Having expressed his disapprobation of the course of his countrymen, having vilified them with no measured hand, having blended with his statements, just enough of facts, to give them the semblance of reason, he now comes out with his sage advice; beginning with the "American community," and at the head of this, the consul, and next the private residents.

I had determined to let the consul speak for himself, and I feel sure that he will; yet I should regret that his countrymen remain silent on a point involving the honor of that respectable gentleman; it is quite evident that C. R. has some covered and secret motive for decrying him, and this will be shown sooner or later; very probably he would accept the consulship himself, if it were *respectfully solicited of him by our government*; he has probably an eye to the "loaves and fishes," or perhaps he thinks he would acquire more influence with *his friend Lin* were he to come out in the consular uniform; he could then sport the American flag before his own house, and if the *commodores* should dare to call on their private friends before they waited on him, he could haul down the flag at his pleasure, as a certain consular vice agent, did on a former occasion.

All I have to say in respect to the consul is, that his countrymen entertain the highest respect for his character, and they will doubtless be ready to resist any and all slanders and aspersions, when they are called upon; while he is at his post, this will be unnecessary, he is fully able to defend himself; and C. R. may consider it a compliment if he deigns to notice his late writings. If he ever refused to present petitions, it must have been because he felt sure they would contain matter offensive to the Americans generally; however, I say again, let the consul speak for himself; I do not profess to be encumbered with diffidence, at the same time, I enter on a few remarks in regard to C. R.'s advice to the American merchants, with some reluctance, feeling aware that there are others here who can much more readily do justice to the vanity and egotism of C. R. I have no authority to speak for the American community, no more right to give their opinions, than C. R. has to school them; I therefore speak for myself, and have only to hope that I speak the sentiments of the Americans generally

The first grave and unfounded accusation is, that the Americans signed the second bond, "without protest, explanation or remonstrance;" *this is false*; the writer has some agency in the matter, and does not speak without book, as C. R. does. The second bond was objected to most decidedly, and orders went to the ships *expected* (in duplicate) *by dispatch boats*, enclosing the copies of the old bonds, and requesting the captains of the ships then expected, to sign none others; but unfortunately, the "Thomas Couatts" had assented to the new bond, a precedent was thereby established; and the Chinese, with their usual art, presented similar documents to the captains *outside*, and they signed them; finding the step could not be retraced, remonstrance was used without success, and then *protests* were made before the consul, and every captain which the writer has had any control over has been recommended to protest; some have done it, and some have thought it unnecessary. So much for the truth of C. R.'s assertion; and whether he made so grave a charge ignorantly, or maliciously, he deserves censure equally. I have already said that the Americans did not sign the first bond "to prove their sincerity in abjuring the opium traffic;" they signed it, to *facilitate their legal and proper business, and because their duty to their constituents and their own interests demanded it*; they gave proof enough to their sincerity in the abandonment of the opium traffic, by issuing circulars to that effect, and above all, by *remaining in Canton*. C. R. assented to the *first bond*, or through his agent precipitated the signature of it, because he had a ship to load; but when the *second bond* was to be signed, he had no ship unsecured. I hold that our remaining in Canton, bond or no bond, gave a *tacit assent to any and all the laws of China*; the statement of C. R., that the Americans quietly swallowed the new bond, whatever might have been their opinion of its severity, "without efforts to effect an abatement," *is false*.

C. R. next attempts to put a petition into the mouths of his countrymen, the only sensible clause in which is the 6th; "the wily head of the cohong;" would have looked to his safety by refusing *at once* to present such a document; and if C. R. had carried it to the city gates, he might have been sent back with an endorsement of bamboo. I do not offer any very strong objections to his statements in this petition, but one would suppose, that C. R. had just landed in China: what he says would be very well for a *private* letter, in confidence to *his friend Lin*; but officially, it would not do, he would return it as he did certain globes and books unperused; he would no more assent to the terms of C. R.'s petition, than to the absurd idea, which a

friend of "Lin's" endeavored to impose on him, namely, that the world is round and revolves on its axis. Then the idea of this rejected petition being placed in the archives of the province! I really begin to think, as I go on, that I have mistaken my man, and that C. R. is just imported: however, I believe I am not mistaken, and that C. R. can be neither more nor less, than that person who shakes his best friend's hand with the tips of his fingers, as if he would say, with a regal air, "touch but pollute not, this is a hand that never was engaged in any illicit trade." But this is a digression.

C. R. goes on to school the British community, the superintendent, and I dare say, before I get through, I shall find him giving his sage advice to the queen herself, and to congress. I have heard that "whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted," and I hope it is equally true for C. R.'s future welfare, that whose exalteth himself shall be humbled. C. R. gives his counsel to the *British community* "with all the freedom of friendship and sympathy;" they will doubtless say, in relation to this whole paragraph, "*persevere us from our friends.*"

C. R.'s views of the superintendent's conduct, in respect to the armed occupation of Chinese harbors, is very logical; he is truly a most disinterested person, but I suppose he would not have had the superintendent remove his protection from Hongkong, until after the due "exchange of bills for British merchandise" had taken place. Then comes some Latin; here C. R. has the advantage of me; I disclaim all knowledge of the dead languages, yet I should like to put a spice of Latin or Greek into this long article. What shall I say? "*Non sine causa*" sounds well enough, and might afford an excuse for inflicting this penance on you. "*E pluribus unum*" looks pretty enough when seen on a golden eagle, and might express the feeling C. R. has of his own power! But to be serious, Mr. Editor, and who, let me ask you, would fail to be so, when noticing the rancorous absurdities of C. R. He tells you again, that the superintendent "hurried the residents from their homes without a sufficient notice," and yet he says just before, that they should manfully have supported him, or in other words "kissed the rod" which was inflicting heavy punishment on them.

I have nothing more to say in reference to Kowlung and the amusing "skrimish," which I had the pleasure of witnessing at a *most safe distance*, than that it is no affair of C. R. or mine. I now come to the last topic of C. R. article: he doubts not, that an American, and perhaps a French, and Dutch envoy, will be sent out; if he lives in China until he sees *either*, he will have had ample time to

repent of his sins, be they few or many. He says, the United States "will exhaust every peaceful recourse rather than leave their citizens, resident in China, longer exposed to loss and *contumely*." I thank thee, C. R. for that last word, it is exactly what *the Americans have received at your hands*; may they never be exposed to more from others, than they reap from your well provided store.

I cannot trespass much longer on your valuable time and space, Mr. Editor, and I shall therefore overlook much of what C. R. says on the opium question, *as it once was*; it is quite sufficient for me, that the most enlightened company of merchants, chartered by the most enlightened Christian power, should have given its sanction to the opium trade, to acquit my conscience for having once dealt in the drug. C. R. says truly, that, "all the merchants who gave up their drug last March can ask for, is money," *this is all they want!*

Some of C. R.'s remarks on page 470 are very sane and proper, but as I have not taken up my pen to praise, but to punish, I will not say a word in favor of the sentiments I allude to; my praise would afford him little more satisfaction than my censure. I now come to page 473, where a hope is held out, like a beacon light on a vast desert, that the end of C. R.'s article is close by; this fills me with pleasure, until I turn over, and find, that there are several pages more of sage and learned matter; have a little patience, my good sir, for I will not keep you long. I find nothing in particular upon which to offer a remark, until the first paragraph on page 476 meets my eye. C. R. wants a true copy of the code of laws which govern this empire, and particularly (I presume) that part relating to commerce; he says, that "no diligence of inquiry, no sincerity of *obedience*, no sacrifices, can satisfy his own sense of right, or raise him above the taunt of the malicious."

I am not aware of what he alludes to in the last part of this quotation, unless he means to say, that it has been intimated, that *he*, in common with all American merchants at Canton, has evaded (innocently of course) the laws in regard to duties; it has been "maliciously" said perhaps that he has transhipped cargo to Whampoa, with intent to save the duty: or the more heinous crime may have been attributed to him of shipping goods through Macao, for the same illicit end; or the still more unjustifiable accusation may have been brought against him, of having landed goods by night in Canton, for the same purpose; and I am by no means sure that he may not have been unjustly accused of bringing in a much smaller quantity of rice than the law allows. That he has ever given the "malicious" any



grounds for saying thus much, I am not personally aware. I have now come to the last page, and I dare say you are equally glad, Mr. Editor. I pass over the first part merely observing, that, if the queen, the superintendent, the American consul, the Dutch, and French envoys, the yumchae, the hong merchants, and last not least the British and American merchants, will only consent to put their business into C. R.'s hands, they cannot fail to come out well; notwithstanding it is somewhere said "put not your trust in *princes*." I finish by requesting C. R. to look into his own heart, and his own motives, and to refrain in future from casting the first stone, or counting attack by holding his head too high. Let him, if he sincerely desires the good will of good men, or if he desires to bring "the stray sheep into his fold," put off a little of his lofty tone, and endeavor to assume a respectful lenity towards the faults and foibles of his fellow men. I now take leave of C. R., and offer no apologies for the length, or quality, of my writing; if what I say is not acceptable to my friends here, I shall sincerely regret it; that it will be so to C. R. I cannot hope or wish. I am, &c., &c. NON SINE CAUSA.

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ART. VII. *Official correspondence with regard to her Britannic majesty's ship Hyacinth's entrance into the port of Macao. From the Canton Press, for Feb. 8th.*

No. 1.

H. M. ship Volage. Macao Roads 4th February, 1840.

Sir,—I shall not attempt to conceal from your excellency that the atrocious edict lately promulgated by the Chinese authorities, and posted on the walls of Macao, has caused considerable anxiety and alarm to the British community residing there; and as you are well aware that I am charged, under heavy responsibilities, with the protection of the lives and property of H. B. M. subjects, I have felt it incumbent on me, at this momentous crisis, to move one of H. M. ships into the inner harbor,—a position that will not only afford full protection to them, but a place of refuge in case of emergency. As H. M. ship enters the harbor with no hostile intention, I feel assured that this measure will strengthen your excellency's hands in maintaining a strict neutrality, which I am convinced you are most desirous to do, and with the greatest respect, I have the honor to remain, your excellency's

Most obedient humble servant, H. Smith.

Captain of H. M. S. Volage and senior officer in China.

To His Excellency, Dom Adriano Accacio da Silveira Pinto.

## No. 2.

*Answer to captain Smith's first note.*

Illustrious Sir,— Before I call the senate to meet, which, conjointly with me, is the legal authority to decide on all political matters, I declare to you, that I cannot but look upon the entrance of the sloop of war under your orders, into the port of Macao, as an act of declared hostility to the government of her most faithful majesty, because such entrance has ever been prohibited; nor can you have instructions from your government to attack well known and most ancient rights, no ship of war, even in admiral Drury's time, having ever entered the port of Macao. I therefore protest against you, as regards the consequences that may result from this step taken by you without justifiable motive, since your views were very different in November last, as I shall make known to the respective governments of Great Britain and Her Most Faithful Majesty. May God protect you.

Macao, 4th February, 1840.

A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. B. M. naval force in these seas.

## No. 3.

H. M. S. Volage. Macao, Roads 4th, February, 1840.

Sir,— I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date; and I beg leave to put it plainly to your excellency, whether you are inclined to give protection to her Britannic majesty's subjects now residing under the flag of Portugal, or whether you will permit them to be harassed in the manner they have been, during the last six months. If your excellency will have the goodness to say at once that you cannot afford the required protection, and wish the British community to withdraw from Macao, her majesty's ship shall immediately leave the harbor, and I shall lose no time in making your sentiments known to my countrymen.

I have the honor to be with great respect your excellency's,

Most obedient humble servant, H. Smith,

Captain and senior officer of H. B. M. ships in China.

To His Excellency, Dom Adriaio Accacio da Silveira Pinto.

## No. 4.

*Answer to the second note from captian Smith.*

Illustrious sir,— With the clearness which it becomes the representative of Her Most Faithful Majesty's government in this country, I shall answer the questions you put in your second note of this day.

This establishment is very different from all other possessions of H. M. F. M.; it is only under peculiar circumstances that it can admit strangers, and their simple toleration cannot furnish you with an excuse to expose that establishment to the horrible consequences that threaten it. Have not the English on various occasions of trouble gone on board their ships, and done this notwithstanding the decided protection which, according to my means I was ready to afford them? This is most certain, and no gentleman will deny it, for on one occasion they did so under the recommendation of the British superintendent of commerce, and on another occasion by your own

recommendation, proceeding no doubt from an exact knowledge of the peculiar situation of this establishment, where every thing must perish if the Chinese were to withdraw our means of subsistence; nor need I mention the treaties entered into between the Chinese government, and that of H. M. F. M., treaties well known to you, so much so indeed that no vessel of your nation ever entered the port except for necessary repairs. I therefore require, as representative of H. M. F. M.'s government, that you will cause forthwith the sloop *Hyacinth*, under your orders, to leave the port, and with the assurance that I shall afford to H. B. M.'s subjects such protection as I am able; I shall not insist on their remaining in this city, should they not think it efficient, (and this besides would be very necessary for the quiet of the city,) for I cannot consent to the treaties which bind us to the Chinese empire being violated, in order to observe the strict neutrality of which you speak in your first note. The circumstances are delicate, and upon you will fall the weight of the enormous responsibility which must accompany the precipitate step you have taken, in opposition to the laws of this establishment.

This is written in the senate, where I am in session with the members that compose it. You point out the hardships suffered by the few British subjects resident here, and do not weigh the heavy losses and great sufferings which have fallen upon 5000 Portuguese inhabitants, to maintain their friendship with the English. Their commerce completely stagnated, since the return of the superintendent, and the heavy duty that has fallen to the Portuguese soldiers to watch over the safety of the English, ought to deserve some consideration on your part, if indeed you do not remember expressions called forth by truth. This government will make known to the whole world, whatever has occurred within the last nine months, and is certain that the whole world will do it that justice which it deserves. I finally impress upon you, that the step you have taken is as hostile to the Portuguese as to the English. May God protect you.

Senate House, 4th February, 1840. A. A. da Silveira Pinto. ✓

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. B. M. naval force in these seas.

No. 5. *Protest.*

The governor and the loyal senate, surprised at the act just committed by capt. Smith, commanding H. B. M.'s ship *Volage*, in causing the sloop *Hyacinth* to enter the port of Macao, who could not be ignorant, and ought to have known, that such entrance is denied to all vessels not Portuguese or Spanish from Manila, by virtue of special regulations of this port, based upon ancient treaties with the emperor of China: an entrance which threatens to compromise this city, and which, even were England at war with China ought not to have been made; resulting therefrom that the said commander committed this act of his own will, which can never be approved of by H. B. M. the intimate ally of H. B. F. M.; the government of this city, therefore, impressed with the greatest regret, judge it to be their duty, in order to maintain their own dignity, as well as the rights of the Portuguese nation in this country, and to obviate the responsibilities which follow such entrance,

should the vessel remain in port, to protest, as they hereby solemnly do protest, against all consequences that may result from this proceeding: against the Portuguese being compromised with the Chinese government;—the suspension of the trade, and withholding of provisions to the prejudice of the Portuguese, of strangers and even of those English themselves who are not proscribed, who are here under the protection of the Portuguese government; and against all other sinister consequences that may be foreseen. And as such proceeding of the said commander cannot but be considered as hostile, and directed against the well being of the Portuguese in China; a proceeding which, even under the name of protection, such as it appeared to be in the year 1808, cannot be consented to: a proceeding tending in its effects to disturb the neutrality which this government wishes to maintain; for all these reasons does this government, in the name of Her Most Faithful Majesty, protest solemnly against the forementioned proceeding of the said commander, and against all consequences, present and future, all damage, losses, and perils, public as well as private, and against all and every thing that may directly or indirectly result or have resulted from so arbitrary and impolitic an act; and finally they protest against all who have assisted in this act. And, in order that this protest may produce the due effect, let it be officially made known to the said commander, and also to the superintendent of British trade in China.

Done and extended in session of the loyal senate of Macao, under its seal on the 4th February, 1840. Signed by J. J. Barros, secretary. A. A da Silveira Pinto, governor; M. Gonzalves da Silva; Joam Joze Vieira; J. B. Gularte; F. A. Seabra, F. J. de Paiva; J. V. Jorge.

No. 6. *Edict.*

The loyal senate cannot but make publicly known to all the inhabitants of Macao, that H. B. M. sloop Hyacinth having entered the port of this city without the consent of this government; the governor and the loyal senate have acted under such unheard of proceedings as policy and their duty require, and hoping that the measures adopted will produce the necessary result, they call upon the inhabitants to remain quiet, and that they fully confine in them, the loyal senate, in the certainty that they will act as their national honor and their duty demand. To be posted up for the knowledge of all. Macao, in session, 4th February, 1840. (*Signed as above.*)

No. 7. *Another note from H. E. the governor.*

Illustrious sir,—In order that I may deliberate as circumstances require, it is necessary that you be pleased to answer my second note of this day; having to inform you that I and the loyal senate are in permanent session. May God protect you. Macao, senate house, 4th February, 1840.

A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. M. B. naval force in these seas.

No. 8. H. M. S. Volage, Macao Roads, 4th February, 1840.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge your excellency's second dispatch of this day's date. I trust, sir, that the motives and circumstances under

which her Britannic majesty's ship was ordered into the inner harbor of this settlement, will vindicate the measure in the sight of my government, a satisfaction which it would be vain to hope for, except it can be shown to be consistent with my duty to my own country, and with the sentiments of the deepest respect for her most Faithful Majesty's just rights and authorities at Macao. Having now, however, received from your excellency a demand that the vessel should proceed outside, I hasten to state that orders will immediately be issued to that effect, and she will move out tomorrow morning, but I entertain no doubt her appearance within the harbor and removal at your demand, will have produced the salutary effect of strengthening your excellency's hands. Permit me to express the hope that the language in which your excellency will demand the immediate removal of the Chinese forces *declaredly* sent here to seize or destroy my countrymen (to the deep insult of the Portuguese crown) will be not less stringent, and as successful in its operation as that in which your excellency has been pleased to require the withdrawal of the Hyacinth. I will only make the further observation that H. B. Majesty's forces under my command are entirely at your excellency's disposal whenever and however you may see fit to require their services, and sincerely lamenting the sufferings of the settlement, and the injuries and insults cast upon it by the Chinese authorities,

I have the honor to be with the highest respect,

Your excellency's most obedient humble servant, H. Smith,

Captain and senior officer of H. B. M. ships in China.

To his excellency, Dom Adriaio Accacio da Silveira Pinto.

No. 9. *Answer to captain Smith's third note.*

Illustrious sir,—At the moment of receiving the answer which I had sufficiently anxiously awaited, I hasten to assure you that I did not expect a different proceeding from an officer of your standing, belonging to the British nation, so intimately allied to the nation to which I have the honor to belong. You will have known, that of the Chinese troops who were marching and others that were near the Bar-Pagoda, the former did not proceed, and the latter retired in virtue of the requisition from the Macao authorities, to allow us freely to consider this business; this proceeding will convince you of the good faith of the Macao government. I expect that the sloop will leave at the time you mention, and I can assure you that in so doing a great many evils will be avoided. I equally expect that you will have understood well the second note I addressed to you this day, and that you will allow due weight to all therein advanced. Finally allow me to give you my best thanks for the friendly sentiments you were pleased to address to me. May God protect you.

Macao, senate house, 4th February, 1840, at 9. p. m.

A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. B. M. naval force in these seas.

ART. VIII. *Report on the geographical, historical, and political state and relations of Bútan, by captain R. B. Pemberton, envoy to that country, in 1838.*

THIS volume of 212 pages is the sequel of a report made by the same gentlemen in 1836. His first gave a complete survey of Arracan, Cachar, Manipúr, and Assám, with the regions to the east of them; his second, the one last published, carries us on to the frontier line north of Lower Assám and Bengal Proper, and makes us acquainted with Bútan. It is in two parts, the first of which is divided into three sections.—The notices of the book, which we here give, are abridged from the *Friend of India*, for Nov. 7th, 14th and 21st, 1839.

The first section furnishes a brief history of the relations between the British government and Bútan and Tibet. In 1772, the rájá of Kúch Behar was compelled, by the aggressions of the Bútías, to seek the assistance of the British government. "His cause was taken up effectively; and his enemies were driven back to their own mountains. In their turn they applied for support to the tshú lama, the guardian of the grand lama of Tibet; who, in consequence, dispatched a letter to the governor-general, Warren Hastings, requesting a cessation of hostilities against Bútan, and the restoration of the lands of which she had been deprived. A treaty of peace was, in consequence, entered into and ratified on the 25th of April, 1774; and to confirm the amity, Mr. George Bogle, of the civil service, was deputed in May that year, to the court of the tshú lama. He reached his destination in October, and remained there till the following April. A singular proof of the confidence he had won was given by the tshú lama, in entrusting to him a considerable sum of money, to be expended in the erection of a temple on the banks of the Hooghly, immediately opposite to Calcutta, for which purpose a grant of land had been made to the lama by a sunud of the British government. In 1779 the lama died at Peking, where he enjoyed high consideration. In 1781 the decease of the lama was communicated to the governor-general, in the expectation of his sympathy with the national sorrow; and soon after, intelligence having been received that the new incarnation of the spiritual chief had been discovered, captain Turner was deputed, in 1783, to convey the congratulations of the governor-general on the auspicious event — a strange commission for a Christian officer to bear. The reception of this mission does not appear to have been so cordial as that of the former. No British mission has since then found its way into Tibet, and none into Bútan till captain Pemberton proceeded thither in 1838. The fact is, that in 1791, the Gúrkhas having invaded Tibet, the aid of the Chinese was called in against them. The Chinese, in consequence, drove back the Gúrkhas to their own country, and brought them into subjection; and then openly assuming the sovereignty of Tibet, which had for years been virtually subject to their rule, they established a line of military posts along the whole southern frontier

of that country. By this means all intercourse between the British government and Tibet was closed. The communication with Bútan has also been exceedingly limited. In 1815, the late Mr. David Scott, when judge in Rungpore, deputed a native officer of his establishment, with the consent of government, to settle some boundary disputes with the deb rájî of Bútan; and since Assám has been added to the British territories, such disputes have multiplied, and at last the necessity arose for captain Pemberton's mission."

The second and third sections of the first part of the report contain a description of those tracts along the frontier of Bútan and the British territories, by which the two states are brought into collision, and a narrative of the chief occasions of dispute. These tracts (*dwards* or passes,) are eighteen in number—7 on the frontier of Assám and 11 on that of Bengal—forming a narrow territory from ten to twenty miles broad, and about 220 miles long from opposite the Dhuusiré river in Assám, to the Tista in Bengal. The passes on the Bengal boundary are wholly under Bútan authority; and all disputes about their limits were settled in 1834, by lieutenant Brodie, in conjunction with Bútan officers. Those on the Assám boundary are held in various ways: two are subject to British and Bútan rule alternately for six months every year; five are always under Bútan authority, but pay a small tribute in recognition of British sovereignty; and two are always under British rule, but pay "a fixed composition for black mail, to certain independent tribes of Bútiás and Duphlas, to purchase exemption from their *raids*." The disputes concerning the passes have arisen partly out of arrears of tribute, but much more from the protection given by the authorities of Bútan to gangs of robbers, committing depredations on those under British protection. Letters of remonstrance to the deb rájî were intercepted by the border chiefs who attacked the passes; and hence the rájî himself was compelled to seek a renewal of diplomatic negotiation, which was the occasion of captain Pemberton's mission, an account of which forms the second part of his report.

"Bútan lies between 26° 30' and 28° of north latitude; and between 88° 45' and 92° 25' of east longitude. It is, therefore, about 220 geographical miles in length, and 90 in breadth, and has an area of 19,800 square geog. miles, of which about 6,600 are allowed for the lowland tracts of the *dwards*. Giving to the lowland tracts the average population of Assám, which is ten to the square mile, they will contain 66,000 souls. To the hill country of Bútan, captain Pemberton thinks it a liberal allowance to suppose the population amounts to six to the square mile, or 79,200 in all. He reckons, therefore, that 145,200 must be rather a high estimate of the population of the whole country. The people are divided into classes, which, however, have but little in common with the castes of the Hindús. They are eight in number. The first two are denominated the Wang and Kampa, and are considered to be the descendants of the Tibetan conquerors of the country. The highest offices are theoretically reserved for the Wangs: the inferior are enjoyed by the Kampas, but

not to the exclusion of the next two classes, called the Bhutpa and Kúshi. The next three orders, the Rangtang, Sanglah and Tebula, are of very inferior rank; and from the hand of the Tehula it is said none of the others will eat. The eighth is a religious tribe, generally permitted to marry; but those of it who pretend to peculiar sanctity, or undertake sacerdotal functions, repudiate marriage altogether.

“The deb and the dhurma rájáí are, the secular and spiritual princes of Bútan. The former obtains his office by the election of a supreme council, and holds it for three years, or as much longer as by force and intrigue he can keep possession. The dhurma rájá is esteemed a perpetual incarnation of deity, a sort of younger brother to the grand lama of Tibet, whose appearance is recognized a year after the decease of the previous *avatar*, according to certain indications of precocious holiness, which the priesthood are able to recognize. He likewise has his council, which is composed of twelve gylongs or monks, who reside habitually in his palace. The province of the dhurma rájá and his council is to regulate the affairs of religion and literature, or the worship and education of the people. But as they furnish several members to the secular council of the deb rájí, they have ample scope for the same spirit of intrigue which other ecclesiastics generally exhibit. But, in fact, the chief power lies with neither the deb nor the dhurma rájí or their councils. There are two great chieftains who nearly divide the country between themselves, and are too powerful to submit to any controul that crosses their own inclination, and yield such a measure only of regard to the ostensible rulers of the land, as is prudent for their own interests. These are the paro and the tongso pilos; themselves entitled to a seat in the supreme council, whenever they visit the capital. The paro pilo is governor of Western Bútan; and his jurisdiction extends from the Tista on the west, to the right bank of the Tchinchú, which, under the name of the Godhadur, falls into the Brumhapútra, about twelve miles below Rangamutty, in Bengal. Under him are six zúmpons, in Mahommedan usage called súbahs, with inferior officers called chang dúmpas, and dúmpas; and as the patronage of these appointments belongs to the pilo, and not to the supreme government, all the power derived from the country under his authority is likewise in his hands. The tongso pilo rules over the eastern part of Bútan, and, therefore, has under his authority the dúars on the Assám frontier.”

Bútan has nothing that deserves to be called an army; its revenues are extremely limited: the country is poor in every sense—the nature of the surface precludes the idea of fertility. The manufactures are rude and few in number. In itself, Bútan is of very little importance. “Yet,” says the journal from which we quote, “its position on our frontier, and the facilities it might afford to other states to annoy our provinces, gives it a strong claim to consideration.” Moreover, “within the last few days, rumors have reached us of proceedings, on the part of Nepal towards Bútan, which give the political relations of that country an immediate interest and importance.”



The most intimate relations of Bútan are those which connect it with Tibet and China. Since 1791, Tibet has been a province of China, occupied by its troops, and having its affairs administered by its officers. Once a year, messengers come from Lassa, bearing an imperial mandate from China, addressed to the deb and dhurma rájás of Bútan, and the pilos and zúmpons under their orders, containing instructions to be careful in the government of the country, to quell promptly all internal tumult and rebellion, and report any apprehended invasion from external foes. With this mandate twenty-one gold pieces of coin are sent. A reply is dispatched by special messengers, with presents. Presents also pass between the dhurma rájá of Bútan and the dalai lama of Lassa; and three lamas, on the part of Bútan, are constantly in attendance at Lassa. Immediately to the west of Bútan is the little territory of the Sikkim rájá, said to be a tributary of the dalai lama. "We have just heard," says the Friend of India, "that the court of Nepál has actually demanded from our government a passage through Sikkim for its troops, for the conquest of Bútan." "Perhaps the audacity of Nepál may yet be the very means of opening our way to Lassa." There is, doubtless, something worth seeing in that sacred city.

"The information obtained during my residence in Bútan," says captain Pemberton, "would lead to the belief that the agents of Russia have found their way to that celebrated capital of Central Asia, and with what views they have been sent, may be safely inferred from their proceedings in a still more conspicuous field, farther west. Three or four merchants from Lassa, whom I met in Bútan, expressly said that there were foreigners residing there very much like us in dress, appearance and manners; who sat at tables, and were constantly engaged in writing and reading in books, similar to those they saw with the officers of the mission. That they were not Chinese was equally explicitly stated, and the inhabitants of Lassa are too intimately acquainted with their military conquerors, to have been mistaken on this point. No nation of Europe, that we are aware of, has for the last century, sent forth even her messengers of peace to the turbulent races of of Central Asia, and the widely extended diplomatic influence of Russia, may, at this moment, be moving in Lassa the wires which agitate Nepal."

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ART. IX. *Journal of Occurrences: arrival in Macao of the new intendant of circuit; edict for the expulsion of the English; Chinese new year; entrance of the Hyacinth into the inner harbor; local officers; the Bilbaino; news from England; the Chinese navy; rumors; the opium trade.*

ON the 31st ult. the new intendant, "the taoutae made his entry in Macao, and was received with the honors due to his person. After his arrival at the house of the hoppo on the Praya Pequena, which is reserved for his residence, he was visit-

ed by the procurador, accompanied by the two interpreters, who was very well received. He intimated to the procurador, that his coming to Macao was positively to exclude the English from the city; that he derived orders from his superiors to this end, and that he held an edict from his excellency for publication; in which order it was, that all the Chinese should be made to leave Macao within five days after the suspension of Portuguese commerce; and that he should use force against the English; but that he should give ear to the request of the mandarins to suspend its publication for five days, to give time to the Portuguese to deliberate about making the English retire from the city. At the end of which, he must see to it, that in case of a negative, he must fulfill his orders." From the *Portuguese na China*, Feb. 2d.

Feb. 1st. An edict was published, by the taoutae, ordering the British superintendents and subjects to leave Macao.

Monday the 3d was the Chinese new-year's day; it passed with much less than its usual joy and hilarity.

4th. About noon H. B. M. sloop Hyacinth, captain Warren, moved into the inner harbor of Macao, and anchored near the shore, just off above the temple Amakok. She left the harbor about 10 o'clock next morning.

6th. The late governor, Tang Tingching, left Canton, and was succeeded by Lin Tsihseu, late high imperial commissioner. Several other changes have taken place in the provincial city, and throughout the province.

An envoy from the Spanish government of Manila has arrived in Macao, in order to effect the liberation of two Spanish subjects seized on board the Bilbao, and to ask reparation for the destruction of that vessel.

The recent news from England has somewhat inspirited the foreign community. A new era, no doubt, is at hand.

The strange project of increasing the Chinese navy, by the purchase and confiscation of foreign ships, seems at last to have exploded: it is said the *Cambridge*, *Norden*, and *Danske Kouge* have been given back to their owners.

Rumors during the month have been current, in Canton, that Tsang Wangyen a native of Heängshan, and now censor in Peking, has recommended to the emperor the suspension of all foreign commerce.

To the editor of the Canton Register we are indebted for some corrections of statements, made in our last number respecting the *opium trade*, "All branches of British trade, to speak in the most favorable terms, are languishing, except one; and that branch the high commissioner was commissioned to root up forever; but H. E.'s proceedings have caused it to flourish in more than pristine vigor." Again, "The opium trade was pushed on outside with greater vigor and success than it had been for a year previous." With these statements before us, in the Register of the 7th ult., supported by current reports from various quarters, we said the number of vessels engaged in the illegal traffic on the coasts was probably as great as at any former period, perhaps greater. According to the Register of the 11th inst. there is not one fourth the number. We have been told that the vessels now or very recently engaged, are not less than fifteen in number.

The editor of the Register says "the average price for the last six months may be quoted at from seven hundred to seven hundred and fifty to eight hundred dollars" per chest. The amount delivered is, we are told, more than 10,000 chests, since July last.

Further, with regard to the *murder*, the editor of the Register says: "we have made particular inquiries of a party nearly connected with the captain of the vessel whose name has been brought in question in those "rumors," and their origin appears to have been this: some time ago the brokers on board an English vessel pointed out to her captain a Chinese boat, and warned him to beware of her, as she was a *pirate*. After some suspicious manœuvres on the part of the pirate, the captain of the English vessel boarded her; in the act of boarding one of his crew (a Frenchman) was speared through the foot; the Frenchman shot the pirate who speared him. The English then took possession of and burnt the pirate boat, cut off the tails of the pirates, and landed them on their own coast. Such is the origin of the "too well authenticated rumors." The seaman who gave the false information had been discharged from one and received on board another schooner, from which he was also discharged after having been punished."



